











# THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## GEORGE ENGELMANN, MAN OF SCIENCE

BY WILLIAM G. BEK

*Doctor George Engelmann has written his own record well. His name is imperishably inscribed in the book of Nature. The buffalo grass of our western plains whispers it as the eternal breezes waft over it, the most beautiful of the conifers of the Rocky Mountains (Abies Engelmanni) sighs his name, the stateliest cacti in the world stand like monuments to his memory, and numerous genera and species of American flora perpetuate his name and fame. As long as man will study plants and trees it will be remembered that George Engelmann lived, and that his clever, tireless mind, more than that of any other American before him, has revealed the secrets of plant nature in the western world.*

### Part I.

In a series of articles published in *The Missouri Historical Review* some time ago, we discussed, under the caption, "The Followers of Duden," a number of men who came to Missouri in the early part of the last century. All these men had been induced to seek Missouri as their new home after reading Doctor Gottfried Duden's "Report". We presented the account of men of different type, engaged in different vocations, in an effort to show what kind of people those early immigrants were, and to have them tell us what the Missouri of almost a century ago looked like. We considered one of the early schoolmasters, a successful business man, an itinerant clergyman who became the founder of a great church organization, two statesmen, of whom one was an especially gifted thinker and writer. At this time we wish to discuss the remarkable career and the notable contributions that one of those early immigrants made to science, and also to let him tell in his own words some of the observations he made, particularly during that time when Missouri was yet very young.

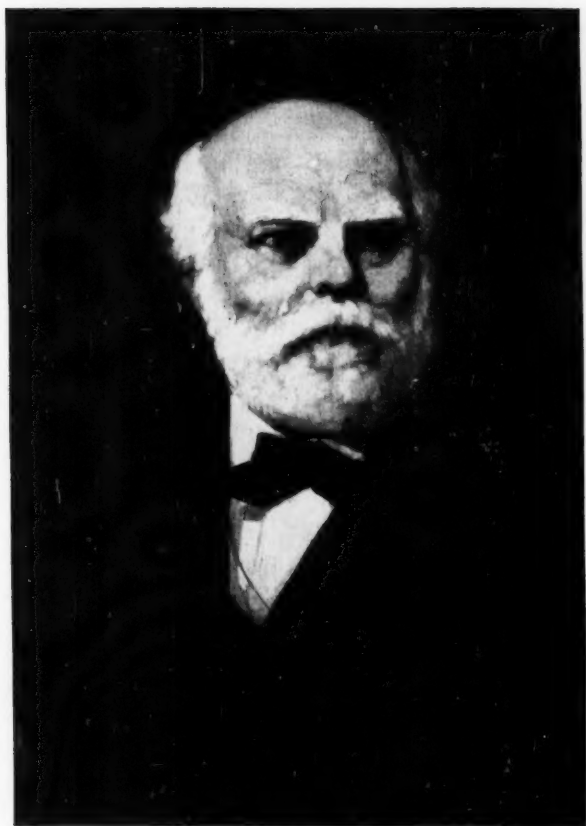
Doctor George Engelmann\* was born on February 2, 1809, in the venerable city of Frankfurt am Main and died in the city of St. Louis on February 4, 1884. His paternal grandfather, the Reverend Theodore Erasmus Engelmann, was pastor of the Reformed church in Bacharach, Germany. His father, also named George, was expected to enter the ministry, a calling in which several generations of Engelmanns had served. To prepare him for this vocation he was sent to the University of Halle. It appears, however, that this profession did not appeal to the young man. He became a schoolmaster instead. He married the daughter of one, George Oswald May, a painter of considerable reputation, a descendant of old Huguenot stock, which had been driven from France during the reign of Louis XIV. The young people founded a private school for young women. Their union was blessed with thirteen children, the oldest being George Engelmann, the subject of this sketch. His early education was directed by his clever parents, and then he entered the gymnasium of his native city. At an early age a preference for the natural sciences was manifested by the youth. His father was a member of the "Senkenberg Society of Natural History" in Frankfurt, and he often took his son to the meetings of this body, where he heard some extremely interesting and instructive discussions on the various phases of science. It was here that the young man's interest in botany was awakened. In conformity with the traditions of the Engelmann family young George was expected to take up the work of the ministry, though his natural inclination was to study medicine. His parents were not wealthy, so in 1827, the congregation of the Reformed church in Frankfurt made up a stipend to send the young man to the University of Heidelberg to study theology. Even in his first year he

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\*The material for this sketch was obtained from the following sources:  
*Der Deutsche Pionier*, Vol. XVI, Numbers 7, 8 and 9, H. A. Rattermann.  
*Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. XIX, pp. 516-522, Asa Gray.

*Botanical Gazette*, Vol. IX, No. 5, C. S. Sargent.  
*The Transactions of the Academy of Science of St. Louis*, Vol. IV, No. 4, pp. 1-18, Enno Sander.

*Bericht der Deutschen Botanischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. II, I, Urban.



DOCTOR GEORGE ENGELMANN



found this work incompatible with his inclinations; he therefore changed his objective and devoted himself with zeal to the study of medicine. In connection with this work he spent much time in a thorough study of botany, geology and chemistry. In this pursuit he was aided and greatly encouraged by three friends at Heidelberg, all of whom became famous in science: Louis Agassiz, Karl Schimper and Alexander Braun. With the latter he kept up a lively correspondence until Braun's death in 1877.

The revolt among the students of the German universities against their oppressive rulers extended also to Heidelberg during the years 1824 to 1830. In 1828 Engelmann, being a member of the liberal party, participated in a student demonstration. This made it necessary for him to leave the University of Heidelberg in the autumn of 1828. He went to the University of Berlin, where he continued his medical studies for two years. Thereupon he matriculated at the University of Wuerzburg, where he was graduated as Doctor of Medicine on July 9, 1831. His dissertation on the subject, "De Antholysi Prodrromus," published in Frankfurt in 1832, testifies to an early leaning to botany and a genuinely scientific turn of mind. Although only the work of a mere student it is a remarkable index of his intellectual powers. It treats in general the theme of teratology, that is the theory of abnormalities in plants and the life of vegetable parasites, and its relation to morphology, the theory of forms in the plant kingdom. As the title "Antholysi" indicates, he deals primarily with the formation of blossoms. Professor Asa Gray calls it a remarkable piece of work, especially if one considers the time in which it appeared and also the fact that the author was a mere student of medicine, who had an inclination for the field of botany. Doctor Masters, the most celebrated teratologist at the time of Engelmann's demise, compared the maiden effort of Engelmann's in botany with the carefully worked out "Tératologie Végétale" by the celebrated French botanist Moquin-Tandon, which appeared ten years later. He says, that if one compares the two works from the philosophical point of view, and considers that the former is a mere college essay, while the other is the work of a

recognized professional botanist, one must admit that Engelmann's treatise, so far as it goes, affords evidence of a deeper insight into the nature and cause of the deviations from the ordinary conformation of plants, than does that of Moquin.\*

In another respect this first extant study of Engelmann's is extremely interesting. Forty years earlier another son of Frankfurt am Main, its most distinguished citizen, the great Goethe, had written his "Metamorphosis of Plants," a work which in its time made a deep impression upon the natural scientific world, since it, for the first time, established the theory of the transformation of species in the plant kingdom. Four weeks before the death of the great thinker a copy of Engelmann's treatise came into his hands. In a letter to a friend the aged seer made inquiry regarding the author, who, as he expressed it, had comprehended his ideas with reference to the morphology of plants so thoroughly, and who also manifested such extraordinary aptitude. He, moreover, stated that he intended to turn over to the rising botanist his entire unpublished collection of sketches and notes on the subject of botany, which he had assembled with so much interest during the course of his long and eventful life.

After graduating from the University of Wuerzburg Doctor Engelmann went to Paris, where he again met his friends Braun and Agassiz. Here he continued his researches in science and medicine. At this time the cholera was raging in the city and Engelmann studied the treatment of this dreaded disease. In his diary appears this entry: "It was a jolly life we lived in the pursuit of science, in spite of the prevailing cholera."

In the meantime some relatives of Doctor Engelmann, Judge Theodore Hilgard of Speier and the latter's brother Edward, as also his cousin Theodore Krafft, lured on by Duden's "Report" and being dissatisfied with the political condition in Germany, had gone to America and had settled in southwestern Illinois, to follow the injunction of the author of the "Report" and become farmers in the new paradise, America. The reports which these people sent back home

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\*Cf. "Nature" for April 24, 1884, and "Proceedings of the American Academy," 1884, p. 520.



induced several of Engelmann's other relatives, among them his uncle Frederick Theodore Engelmann, at that time forester-warden in Winnweiler in the Rhenish Palatinate, to consider plans to emigrate to America and entering land there. With pleasure young Doctor Engelmann accepted the invitation to go as an advance agent, to examine conditions and report to his people regarding the conditions he should find in the New World. The attraction of the new, and the unparalleled opportunity to pursue his favorite study of botany in an almost unexplored environment had not a little to do with his decision. Accordingly he sailed from Bremen in September, 1832, and six weeks later landed in Baltimore. From Baltimore he went to Philadelphia, where he had the unusual good fortune to become acquainted with the great botanist, ornithologist and explorer, Thomas Nuttall, an incident which later served Engelmann in excellent stead. Then he turned to the west, where he arrived in February, 1833, at the home of his cousin in Belleville, Illinois. At the home of this relative, which his cousin had named Bacharach in memory of his native city on the Rhine, Doctor Engelmann practiced medicine for a while.

The life of a country physician, particularly in such a new region was very lonely and comfortless. The monotony was happily broken somewhat by a botanizing expedition. In order to extend his researches to still more fertile fields, he undertook, in the summer of 1833, an extended journey on horseback through southwestern Illinois, Missouri, Arkansas, indeed as far as Louisiana, making rich discoveries in botany everywhere. In the swamps of Arkansas he contracted a stubborn swamp fever, during his sojourn there in 1834. He no doubt would have succumbed to it, if he had not found shelter and attention in the lonely hut of a sympathetic, generous negro family. It was only after six months that he had sufficiently recovered to continue his wanderings. Very much emaciated he finally returned to his relatives in Belleville, in the spring of 1835.

In the autumn of that year Doctor Engelmann settled as resident physician in St. Louis. This town was especially attractive to him, being situated on the verge of a vast, but

partially explored territory, the gateway to the immense west and northwest. Here he found an ever increasing number of educated Germans, with whom he soon was on intimate footing. He showed great interest in various kinds of civic improvements. He aided greatly in the promotion of a German newspaper. This was the "Anzeiger des Westens," the first number of which appeared on October 31, 1835, published by Christian Bimpage and J. B. von Festen. After its founding Doctor Engelmann continued to show an active interest in the growth of this publication, which in the following year came into the efficient hands of William Weber. We also find Doctor Engelmann, then still a bachelor, vitally interested in the promotion of a German school, for the education of the constantly increasing number of children of German immigrants. This school has already been discussed in an early article dealing with "The Followers of Duden," for it was Frederick Steines, the pioneer German schoolmaster, who was chosen to organize this enterprise. With Captain Carl Neyfeld, Doctor Engelmann began the publication of a periodical, entitled, "Das Westland".\* Captain Neyfeld was an interesting character. He had served in the Polish army, had written a history of the Polish Revolution of 1831, published in Hanau in 1833, and for political reasons had found it advisable to leave Poland for the freer environment of America. H. A. Rattermann states in "Der deutsche Pionier," cited above, that a Doctor A. von Koenige, a practicing physician of St. Louis also assisted in editing "Das Westland," however, there is no statement to this effect in the journal. "Das Westland" was edited in St. Louis but was printed in Heidelberg, Germany, in the publishing house of Joseph Engelmann. Only three numbers of this periodical were published, a fact which we, of a later day, regret greatly, for the numbers which we do have furnish us an immense lot of information. Some of the contributors to this journal were: Frederick Muench, whose life and achievement we have discussed in an earlier issue of the *Review*, William Weber, one of the best German

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\*This very rare volume, for the three existing numbers of this journal are bound, was generously loaned to the writer by Miss Bella Steuernagel, librarian of the Public Library at Belleville, Illinois.

journalists of that time in America, Judge Theodore Hilgard, Sr., and Gustav Koerner, at one time lieutenant governor of Illinois, and an extensive writer and publisher. Doctor Engelmann's contributions to this journal were on the subject of natural history, the fertility of the soil in the Mississippi valley, the climatic conditions of this region, and regarding certain German settlements in the West.

In addition to his medical practice in St. Louis, Doctor Engelmann devoted himself industriously to the collecting and arranging and describing of plants. Many of these he sent to European museums, while he at this time also began to make a start on his later famous herbarium. Through some of the plants which he sent to Europe he became acquainted with the celebrated botanist, Asa Gray, the author of "Flora in America," and many other works. Professor Gray was making a journey through Europe and on his wanderings also came to Berlin. There he saw in a collection of botanical specimen in a museum some American plants. In connection with these plants were the words: "Doctor Engelmann, St. Louis." In the description accompanying the collection he recognized at once the clear and finely scientific judgment of Doctor Engelmann. Upon his return to America Professor Gray wrote to the latter, complimenting him on the work he had seen. From this incident there grew a correspondence and a friendship which continued till the death of Doctor Engelmann.

Engelmann's acquaintance with Gray and Nuttall resulted in the utilization of Engelmann's great botanical knowledge for the exploration of the botany of the western part of our country. In spite of the fact that at the outset Doctor Engelmann lived in straightened circumstances, for the small means which he brought with him from Germany were soon consumed, his medical practice had not yet become remunerative, and the sums received for the collections of plants sent to European museums were not very great, in spite of these handicaps he nevertheless succeeded, in some way, to acquire most excellent, accurate scientific instruments, which he always kept in the most perfect condition.

St. Louis was at that time the place where all the government expeditions of exploration, such as Fremont's, Emory's, Wheeler's and others, halted to make final preparations for their eventful journey. Upon the recommendation of Gray and Nuttall these explorers always called upon Doctor Engelmann in order to compare and adjust their instruments to those of Engelmann's. Thus he became acquainted with most of the explorers of that time, among whom he met some outstanding German scientists such as Fendler, Roemer, Ehrenberg and others. Soon his name was favorably known beyond the boundaries of the west. Most of the botanical specimen collected during these expeditions were submitted to him for scientific examination and classification. His determinations were final. He had become one of the highest authorities in the field of botany in America.

As Doctor Engelmann's financial condition improved through an ever increasing medical practice and the returns from his scientific work, he, in 1839, decided to establish his own household. In the fall of that year he left his practice in the hands of his friend Doctor Frederick Adolph Wislizenus and took a trip to Germany, where he had left a sweetheart, Miss Dora Horstmann, to whom he was married on June 11, 1840, in Kreuzenach. His young wife was a very distant relative of his, who was born in 1804 in Bacharach. She is reported to have been a wonderfully fine woman, physically strong and mentally alert. She died in St. Louis in January, 1879, at the age of seventy-five years. She bore one son, George J. Engelmann, who survived both his parents. Like his father he took up the study of medicine, attending school in this country and in Germany. He practiced his profession for some time in St. Louis. A peculiar chain of circumstances contrived to make the life of this promising young man unhappy. He left St. Louis for Boston where he died some years ago, without having, even in the slightest degree, attained the eminence of his illustrious father.

Doctor Engelmann, Sr., developed a very extensive medical practice, not only among the Germans and the French of St. Louis but also among the Anglo-Americans. His reputation was so firmly established that he could afford to take

extensive vacations without fear of jeopardizing his practice. These vacations were devoted either to analysis of botanical specimen that had been sent in, or for scientific excursions to remote parts of our country. In 1856 he took a vacation which extended over two years. During this time he spent one summer in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in pursuit of botanical studies, while the remainder of his vacation was devoted to a visit to his old fatherland, being accompanied by his wife and son. In 1868 the family again visited Germany, on which occasion their son was left in that country to complete his medical studies at the University of Berlin. During these absences Engelmann turned his practice over to his trusted and efficient friend, Doctor Wislizenus. During the years 1840 to 1846 the two practiced medicine together.

In 1842 Dr. Englemann published his first article on botany in America. It was a monograph dealing with the American genus *cuscuta*. This appeared in the "American Journal of Science," New York, Vol. I, No. 43, pp. 333-345. To this he added corrections and additions the following year. This extremely important and thorough treatise, dealing with a specifically American genus of parasitic plants soon aroused the greatest interest in scientific circles. This interest was not confined to America but extended to Europe also, for the "London Journal of Botany," Vol. II, pp. 189-199, reprinted it in 1843, and "Schleiden und Naegeli's Zeitschrift fuer wissenschaftliche Botanik," Zuerich, Vol. II, pp. 553-555, gives a synopsis of the same in 1844, supplying additions and corrections in Vol. IV, pp. 273-281, in 1846. When Doctor Engelmann took up this study, we were supposed to have only one indigenous species, and that not peculiar to the United States, but which he immediately brought up to fourteen species, without going west of the Mississippi valley. In the year 1859, after an investigation of the whole genus in the materials scattered through the principal herbaria of Europe and this country, he published in the first volume of the "Transactions of the St. Louis Academy of Science," a systematic arrangement of all *cuscutae*, characterizing seventy-seven species, besides others classed as probable varieties. In 1860 his entire work on this subject was arranged by Alex-

ander Braun, who supplied it with an introduction in the Latin language, and published it in Berlin. This was translated by Paul Acherson. Through this piece of work Doctor Engelmann became known to natural scientists everywhere. Among others he became known to the great English botanist Sir William Jackson Hooker, with whom he carried on a lively correspondence. From now on articles and monographs continued to issue from Doctor Engelmann's work shop.

In the year 1845 Engelmann introduced the German American botanist, Doctor Ferdinand Jacob Lindheimer of Texas, to the scientific world by publishing "*Plantae Lindheimerianae*" in the "*Boston Journal of Natural History*," Vol. V, pp. 210-264. Lindheimer had made the collection but did not have the equipment to make the necessary analyses so Engelmann made them for him. In similar manner he had introduced a year earlier another German American, Karl A. Geyer, to scientific circles, "*American Journal of Science*," Vol. I, pp. 94-104.

In the years 1846 and 1847 his friend and colleague Doctor Wislizenus accompanied Doniphan's expedition on a journey from Missouri to northern Mexico, primarily for scientific investigations. An account of this journey was printed in 1848 by order of Congress. The very extensive classification and description of the plants collected on this expedition by Doctor Wislizenus came from Doctor Engelmann's pen.

Always on the look-out for young men who were interested in science, Engelmann discovered a young German, August Fendler, who accompanied one of the government expeditions to the Rocky Mountains as a surveyor. Fendler had completed a good course in a German gymnasium, and in the late thirties or early forties had come to America. Stopping at St. Louis, Engelmann took a fancy to the young man, and instructed him in the ways that plants should be collected and preserved on the expedition. Evidently the man did his work well and carefully, for in 1849 Engelmann presented him to the world of science in his publication, "*Plantae Fendlerianae*" appearing in "*Memoranda of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*," Vol. IV. When

Henry Shaw of St. Louis decided to establish an herbarium in his botanical gardens, he consulted with Engelmann. Upon the latter's recommendation August Fendler was employed to classify and arrange the plants, a piece of work which was accomplished in two years. During all this time he was under the constant direction of Doctor Engelmann, who initiated him thoroughly into the secrets of botany, so that he really attained a scientific reputation. Later Fendler made numerous expeditions to the Rocky Mountains, to California, Mexico, Central America, and even to Brazil, in the pursuit of science. Late in life he settled in the West Indies, where he died in 1882, at the age of seventy. His name is forever connected with the natural history of the American flora. Several plants bear his name, among them a beautiful cactus, "*Cereus Fendleri*."

With the utmost impartiality Anglo-Americans also enjoyed the fortune of being introduced to the world of scholars by Engelmann. He aided in whatever way he could to further the knowledge of botanical science. He furnished numerous articles for Professor Gray's "*Handbook of American Botany*." His participation is seen in all the reports of scientific expeditions sent out by the United States government for forty years. He wrote the section on botany in Professor F. V. Hayden's report of geology and natural history of the upper Missouri valley. For Doctor C. C. Parry he handled the *coniferae* of the Colorado region and the Rocky Mountains. For Wheeler's report of the United States geographic survey of the west he handled the *cactaceae*, *cuscutae*, *juncaceae* and other forms. He did the same for King's report of the geologic survey of the fortieth parallel. He revised Elliotte's account of genus *pinus*. He supplied the botanical section of Captain J. H. Simpson's report of the Utah expedition. The treatise on *cactaceae* and *euphorbiaceae* in Ives' report of the river basin of the Colorado is entirely Engelmann's work. With his "*Plantae Wrightianae*" he introduced Charles Wright into botanical circles.

While dealing with that part of Doctor Wislizenus' report which deals with the botany of northern Mexico, Doctor Engelmann was directed to a thorough study of cactus plants.

When he began the study of the cactus family, he began a piece of work which was to become at the same time his most extensive and important as also the most difficult which he undertook. In this field his authority is of the very highest. He established for the first time the arrangement of these plants upon floral and carpological characters. When these unique and characteristically American plants were brought to Europe about four hundred years ago, they aroused great interest. They were then described, but for several centuries only a few species were known. The only cactus which the celebrated botanist Linnaeus, (who died one hundred and fifty years ago), knew, was the *opuntia vulgaris*. In 1814 the pioneer botanist of western America, Thomas Nuttall, knew only the following cacti, two kinds of *mammillaria* and two of *opuntia*. In 1834 Nuttall discovered one other kind. A short time after that Engelmann became acquainted with the numerous species of cactus which were sent him by Doctor Lindheimer from Texas, and still more by Doctor Wislizenus. To these were added the findings of Doctor Gregg and Lieutenant Emory who had explored northern Mexico and the region along the Gila River. Then came the discoveries of several new species by Fendler near Santa Fe. Still later, 1848, Charles Wright discovered new undescribed species of cactus in western Texas and northern Mexico.

While Doctor Engelmann was occupied with the study of these findings, the agreement between the United States and the Republic of Mexico was reached, whereby the latter country ceded to us our present states of New Mexico and Arizona. A boundary commission was appointed, first under the command of Colonel Graham, and later under Major Emory. To this commission was added a scientific corps, which in addition to making the geometric survey, was charged to investigate the geology, zoology and botany of the new region, as also the archeology of this region and the people who were then inhabiting it. The commission was accompanied by the botanists, Doctor C. C. Parry, Doctor J. M. Bigelow, Charles Wright and George Thurber. At the request of Doctor Engelmann, Arthur Schott of Belleville, Illinois, was added to this group. According to Engelmann's



report in his "Synopsis of the Cactaceae of the Territory of the United States and Adjacent Countries," Cambridge, 1856, p. 3, these gentlemen delivered the greatest number of cacti that was known in history.

In 1853 the Pacific Railway expeditions opened up new, hitherto uninvestigated regions. Doctor Bigelow, the physician and botanist of Captain Whipple's corps of explorers along the thirty-fifth parallel, sent in new materials to the botanical analyst, while Doctor F. V. Hayden, almost without support, undertook his adventurous expedition to the upper Missouri and Yellowstone regions, and acquainted the world with the northern cactus. Arthur Schott furnished the last but by no means the least contributions. He accompanied Major Emory to the Gadsden Purchase, whence he brought rich findings.

As already stated, the major portion of these findings were sent to Doctor Engelmann for scientific consideration. In his "Plantae Lindheimerianae" and his "Plantae Fendlerianae," also his part in Wislizenus' report, and the two treatises on *cereus giganteus* ("American Journal of Science," Vol. II, 14 and Vol. II, 17), he described more than one hundred species of cactus, belonging to five classes, among them an entirely new genus, *Echinocerus*, Engelmann. These alone include more than the fourth part of all the cacti known to natural science at that time. Now, however, Engelmann furnished in two treatises by all odds the greatest and most important contribution to the knowledge of these singular plants. Both these pieces of work were published by the government in the reports of the Pacific Railroad Expedition and the Mexican Boundary Survey.

The first treatise, "Descriptions of the Cactaceae" constitutes Number 3 of the fifth part of Lieutenant Whipple's report concerning the survey of the thirty-fifth parallel in the volume of the "Pacific Railroad Report." It mentions six *mammillaria* in seven varieties, six *echino* in eleven varieties, six *cereus* in fifteen varieties, twenty-five of *opuntia* in forty varieties. This account is amplified by twenty-two lithographic tables. In this treatise is also found the account of the giant cactus (*cereus giganteus*, Engelmann), as also that of

an *opuntia*, named in honor of Konstantin Rafinesque-Schmalz, its discoverer (*Opuntia Rafinesquii*, Engelm.). This work appeared in Washington in quarto size, in 1856.

While this first treatise, dealing with the cacti of America, aroused great interest in the scientific world, it appeared insignificant when three years later Engelm.ann's "Cactaceae of the Boundary," appeared in Emory's "Report of the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey." Before the appearance of these two pieces of work Engelm.ann had published his "Synopsis of Cactaceae of the United States and Adjacent Regions," octavo size, Cambridge, 1856, in which 130 species of cactus are mentioned and described. However, this work was without illustrations. His new work appeared with the steel engravings of sixty-one species of cactus. The government of the United States fully realized how important Engelm.ann's investigations were in the field of botany, and allowed the extraordinary expense for the production of the work, which required five years for completion. In Paul Roetter, a German artist, Engelm.ann had found a man whose great talent was equal to the enormous task of making the illustrations. In recognition of this service of Roetter's the great scientist named a new species of cactus, *C. Roetteri*. He added to the description of this species the following: "I take great pleasure to acknowledge my indebtedness to the modest and faithful artist, Mr. Paulus Roetter who has adorned this memoir by his skillful pencil, by naming this species after him." Cf. "Cactaceae of the Boundary," p. 33.

The fine steel engravings were made in part by W. H. Dougal in Germantown, D. C., in part by Maillard and Connor in St. Louis, in part by European artists, Weber in Berlin, Davesne, Rebuffet, Martin Schmelz and the Picart brothers in Paris. Engelm.ann's work constitutes number three in the first part of volume two of Emory's report. It appeared in Washington in 1859 in quarto form, supplied with seventy-five steel engravings, and a frontispiece: "View of the Gila River," which represents varieties of giant cacti. This frontispiece was furnished by the German painter and writer Balduin Moellhausen who accompanied the expedition

to the Gadsden territory in the capacity of an artist. The descriptive part of Engelmann's work embraces one hundred cacti belonging to four or five genera. The two works of Engelmann, gotten out by the government, contain together one hundred and forty-six kinds of cactus in one hundred and eighty-six varieties, hitherto not described. Including his earlier contributions Doctor Engelmann has therefore acquainted the scientific world with a new genus and nearly three-hundred new species of cacti. In later years he added three more contributions to the above: "Addition to the Cactus Flora of the United States," 1862, "Notes on *Opuntia*," 1871, and his work on the cacti in King's "Report of the Geological Survey of the 40th Parallel," 1871.

In his "Synopsis of the Cactaceae," Engelmann has also furnished a geographic distribution of the cacti in the United States, which, of course, has an immense value.

His reputation is not only imperishably connected with the natural history of these unique plants, but three species also bear his name, namely a *cereus*, (*Cereus Engelmanni*, Parry), the most beautiful of this genus, and two *Opuntiae* (*Opuntia Engelmanni*, Salm, and *Opuntia Engelmanni*, Bigelow). He himself has perpetuated the names of all his co-laborers and of the conductors of the various expeditions on which these plants were discovered, by giving the names of these persons to the most beautiful species discovered by them.\*

Doctor Engelmann's work with the cacti has been dwelt upon somewhat long and in detail because it is in fact his greatest contribution to science.

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\*It may not be without interest to have a list of the cacti named for persons. Where the letter E is suffixed, it means that Engelmann gave the name:

*Mamillaria*: *Grahami*, E; *Wrightii*, E; *Nuttallii*, E; *Goodrichii*, Scheer; *Heyderii*, Muehlenpfordt; *Sheerii*, Salm; *Pottsi*, Scheer. (Scheer and Heyder were German botanists who made researches in Mexico. John Potts was an outstanding citizen of Chihuahua, owner of silver mines and the mint, who aided the German naturalists greatly.)

*Echinocactus*: *Whipplei*, E; *Lecontei*, E; *Parryi*, E; *Emoryi*, E; *Scheerii*, Salm.

*Cereus*: *Roetteri*, E; *Fendleri*, E; *Roemerii*, E; *Berlandieri*, E; *Emoryi*, E; *Greggii*, E; *Thurberi*, E; *Schottii*, E; *Engelmanni*, Parry.

*Opuntia*: *Lindheimeri*, E; *Rafinesquii*, E; *Parryi*, E; *Emoryi*, E; *Schottii*, E; *Grahami*, E; *Davisii*, E; *Bigelovii*, E; *Whipplei*, E; *Thurberi*, E; *Wrightii*, E; *Engelmanni*, Salm; *Engelmanni*, variation, Bigelow.

While his work on the cacti was exact and incisive, it was scattered in many different publications. To collect them within one cover was the intention of his last years. To this end, he, even a few years before his death, seriously entertained the idea of making a trip to Mexico, to study these plants personally in their habitat and then publish his findings in one great work. Illness and the infirmities of old age prevented him from carrying out this cherished plan.

At the time of the demise of Engelmann, Professor Gray said in substance, that upon two other peculiarly American groups of plants, very difficult of elucidation in herbarium specimen, *Yucca* and *Agave*, Doctor Engelmann may be said to have his work up to the time. He added that up to that time nothing of importance had been added to what the great scientist so modestly styled: "Notes on the Genus *Yucca*," published in the third volume of the "Transactions of the St. Louis Academy of Science," 1873, and not much to the "Notes on *Agave*," illustrated, included in the publication, 1875.

Less difficult as respects the material to work upon, but well adapted to his painstaking, precise, and thorough handling, were such genera as *Juncus*, which was elaborately monographed in the second volume of the "Transactions of the St. Louis Academy of Science," moreover *Euphorbia*, published in the fourth volume of the "Pacific Railway Report," and in the "Botany of the Mexican Boundary," as also *Sagittaria* and its allies, *Callitrichi*, *Isoetes*, and the North American *Loranthaceae*, and certain groups of *Gentiana*. Generous with his vast store of knowledge, he aided his associates and friends. He contributed revisions of the above genera to Gray's "Manual," and he was also an important collaborator in several of the memoirs of his surviving co-workers.

With the ferns, ordinarily a favorite theme of botanists, Engelmann busied himself very little, in fact only to make one correction in Professor G. Kunze's work on ferns. Indeed it was a characteristic of this man to devote himself to fields that were difficult and neglected by most botanists. It was just in these domains that he accomplished his great

work. On other occasions he took great pleasure in correcting errors. Thus, for example, two American grasses which had for a long time been regarded as hermaphroditic were subjected by him to a careful examination, and he proved that they were in reality dioecious. One of these grasses is the genus *Buchloe*, the buffalo grass of our plains, the other the genus *Monantochloe*, a kind of grass found in the southern part of the United States, in Texas, Florida, New Mexico and northern Mexico. This extremely interesting work he published in 1851 in volume one of the "Transactions of the St. Louis Academy of Science," under the title "Two New Dioecious Grasses of the United States." Prior to this discovery only two other dioecious grasses were known to botany, namely *Spinifex*, Linn, in six species in East India and Australia, and *Gynerium*, H. B. K. in five species in South America.

Of extremely great interest are his excellent works dealing with the American oaks and coniferae, which were also published by him in the St. Louis Academy publications. He wrote in all five monographs dealing with the American oaks, and sixteen dealing with the coniferae. His main work on the subject of pines appeared under the caption "Revision of the Genus Pinus," in the Transactions of the St. Louis Academy, Vol. III, and an article in Johnson's "Universal Encyclopedia," Vol. III, pp. 219-224. In addition, Engelmann also described the American catalpas.

All these treatises are the result of years of careful and conscientious observation. The same must also be said of his persistent researches and accurate study of the American grapes, of which he finally differentiated fourteen species in thirty-one varieties, and classified and described them as to their special peculiarities. Sometimes his knowledge was of immense financial value, as when his advice was sought by the agents of the French government regarding the use of the native American grapes as grafting stock for French vineyards. His reward was usually the noble joy which attends the discovery of truth. Up to the time of his death botany owed almost its entire knowledge regarding the American grape to Engelmann's investigation. His first work on this

subject appeared in 1860, "The Grapes of Missouri," his last, a thorough treatment of the domestic grapes, appeared under the title, "The true Grape Vines of the United States, and the Diseases of the Grape Vines," published in "Buschberg's Catalog," the third edition, 1883, only a few months before the author's death.

Doctor Engelmann undertook a number of journeys in the pursuit of his natural scientific researches. We have already mentioned his trip through Missouri, Arkansas and northern Louisiana which he undertook soon after he came to America. In the late forties he took a trip to Texas. His correspondence with his friends Lindheimer and Ehrenberg but especially Wislizenus's expedition to these regions induced him to take this journey. In addition to incorporating much of the flora of Texas in his numerous monographs, already mentioned, this excursion resulted in three treatises dealing specifically with Texas: "The Character of the Vegetation of Southwestern Texas," 1851, "A Report of the Western Part of Texas," 1857, and the "Oaks of Texas," 1882.

Later he took two trips to the Rocky Mountains, in Colorado and New Mexico. He traveled along our northern lakes, where he spent some time on the shores of Lake Superior. He also journeyed to what is now Oklahoma, then Indian Territory. He took an extended trip through the Appalachian Mountains, in Tennessee and North Carolina. He visited Utah Territory, and finally proceeded to the Pacific coast states, being accompanied by Professor C. S. Sargent and Doctor C. C. Parry. On this journey through the Pacific states he saw for the first time in their habitat the plants which had been studied and described by him thirty years before.

His associates have spoken again and again of his courage and zeal, the enthusiasm and an industry with which he approached his work, and the unfailing courtesy which he showed to all. His friends all spoke of, and his works certify to his keen gift of observation, his unflagging perseverance, his fine critical judgment, and the rare quality which urged him on to test out old assumptions, to find out new facts and bring new ideas to light. His close associate and friend, Doctor Wislizenus, said that in all his work Engelmann was

firm and decided, that he cared but little for speculation, but relied solely on facts that had been determined by painstaking study. In a word, that he was strictly true in scientific matters. He could observe a plant for decades, watching its growth and development, could examine it microscopically and chemically, and then re-examine it again before he came to a final conclusion. What he finally wrote was the accurate result of his careful investigation without any hypothetical assumptions.

When Henry Shaw established the famous Missouri Botanical Gardens, Engelmann was not only greatly encouraged in his work but also greatly aided. To this institution he left the great mass of botanical specimen which had been collected by him, or had been sent to him for examination. After Doctor Engelmann's death his son, Doctor George J. Engelmann, presented to the Gardens his father's very extensive and invaluable herbarium, which is said to contain the original specimen of all the plants, (more than 40,000), which the celebrated botanist had described. This gift was presented with the stipulated condition that a separate building for this herbarium should be provided, which should be arranged for an intensive study of botany.

But not only in botany but also in other fields of science he proved himself a master. He was very gifted in matter pertaining to geology and chemistry. During his first years in St. Louis especially he was much interested in all sorts of civic improvements. It was his characteristic not to work alone but to interest others in laudable undertakings. As early as 1836 he and a few like minded men founded the Western Academy of Science. Of course, this young institution, established prematurely, was doomed to die, because of insufficient interest and the means of promoting the undertaking. For twenty years the idea of having a similar society, lived in Engelmann's mind, until through his instigation, on March 10, 1856, there came into being the Academy of Science of St. Louis. This organization, through its publications acquired for itself a place of eminence in the republic of science. Engelmann became the first president of the Academy and was re-elected to this position of honor and

responsibility fifteen times. On January 17, 1857, the Academy was chartered by the State Legislature. This charter was accepted on February 9, 1857. Engelmann's annual addresses were documents in terse language, and, like his other writings, prepared without any desire to exalt the actual conditions of things, or to exaggerate the prospects of the association. He served as chairman of many committees, such as on library, publications, etc. For twenty-five years he was chairman of the committee on botany. In May, 1869, the hall where the Academy met was destroyed by fire. The museum was lost but the library was saved. In later years the Academy was allowed to meet at Washington University. Engelmann sought to induce rich men of the city to endow the Academy and erect for it a permanent home. He was not able to arouse enough interest to accomplish this end.

Doctor Engelmann had a very active interest in a number of professional societies, such as, The German Medical Society, The St. Louis Medical Society, The Obstetrical and Gynecological Society, and the St. Louis Medico-Chirurgical Society.

Before we leave Doctor Engelmann's scientific works, we must mention yet another bit of work which is no less interesting and important, and which required the persevering pursuit of years in order to arrive at the final goal,—we refer to his meteorological observations. From the very day when he settled permanently in St. Louis he made it his task to take accurate thermometric, barometric and hydrometric observations three times each day, in the morning, at noon, and in the evening, in order to make a thorough study of climatic conditions and weather conditions in St. Louis. This work he continued undismayed for forty-seven years, from January 1, 1836, to December 31, 1882. During temporary absences his friend Doctor Wislizenus performed this service for him. Thus in the course of almost half a century, through the self-sacrificing devotion of Doctor Engelmann, there has been compiled a reliable determination of the temperature and weather conditions of his home city. In fact it is the only reliable record of this kind for so early a date in the upper Mississippi valley. The publication of that



part of his observations which pertain to temperature readings was the last piece of his work that appeared in print. This treatise, to which was added a diagram, drawn by Doctor G. Hambach, appeared in the "Transactions of the St. Louis Academy of Science," in November, 1883, Vol. IV, pp. 496-508.

Earlier he had published a report on meteorology when he handled the observations brought in by the Fremont expedition. This appeared in the report of that expedition in 1845, and was published by the government of the United States.

It goes without saying that an investigator of such merit should soon be recognized by scholars and by societies of scholars. Soon after his scientific works began to appear a lively correspondence with scientific specialists in Europe and America was opened up. The outstanding quality of his doctor's thesis won him an election to the "Botanical Society of Regensburg," Germany, as also an election to associate membership in the "Senkenberg Society of Natural Science," in his native city. These two preferments came to him while he was studying in Paris. A few years later, 1838, he was made corresponding member of the "Society of Natural Science in Mainz," and two years later of the "Society of Physical Science in Frankfurt." When his publications began to appear in rapid succession, honors fairly showered upon him. Many scientific societies in America, Germany, England, France and other countries honored him by making him a corresponding or an honorary member. The chronological arrangement of these distinctions, at the end of the biography, will present this graphically. The University of Missouri conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1875. On the fiftieth anniversary of his graduation from the University of Wuerzburg, 1881, that institution honored itself by conferring upon its distinguished son the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, *honors causa*. In his new fatherland societies such as the "Academy of Natural Sciences," in Philadelphia, the "Lyceum" in New York, the "Academy of Arts and Sciences," in Boston, the "Philosophical Society in Philadelphia," and the "American Association for the Advance-

ment of Science," conferred honors upon him. Henry Shaw caused a collection of all his works to be made. This collection was edited by Professor Asa Gray with the assistance of Professor William Trelease of Washington University.

Until the time of the death of his wife, in 1879, Doctor Engelmann had enjoyed the most excellent health. The separation from his faithful and devoted companion, with whom he had shared all his joys and sorrows, who had followed his scientific successes with keen understanding and appreciation, seemed to break his strength and he began to sink rapidly. In an effort to regain his health he undertook a trip to Germany, being accompanied by his son, 1883. The wished-for relief was not found. Now it was Doctor Engelmann's anxious concern that he might not die in Europe. It was his earnest desire that he might rest in the soil of the New World, which he dearly loved, where he had lived for better than half a century, where his prodigious labors had been achieved. Upon his return to St. Louis it seemed for a while as if his indomitable will would conquer over his ailing body. He plunged himself once more into his work. However, it was of short duration. On the fourth of February, 1884, his great spirit took its flight. The world mourned his going.

Those who knew him well report that he was of a stately appearance even in his old age, being of average height and somewhat inclined to corpulency, that his ideally shaped head was bordered by scant, snow-white hair, his full beard, also was snowy white, all in all the model of a splendid old man. They also relate that when he discussed some favorite theme in the circle of scholars his eyes beamed and enthusiasm and inspiration shone from his face. Then he was very sociable, while ordinarily he avoided intercourse with people in his declining years. But even to the end his interest in the social and political events on both sides of the Atlantic remained keen.

Doctor George Engelmann has written his own record well. His name is imperishably inscribed in the book of nature. The buffalo grass of our western plains whispers it as the eternal breezes waft over it, the most beautiful of the

conifers of the Rocky Mountains (*Abies Engelmanni*) sighs his name, the stateliest cacti in the world stand like monuments to his memory, and numerous genera and species of American flora perpetuate his name and fame. As long as man will study plants and trees it will be remembered that George Engelmann lived, and that his clever tireless mind, more than that of any other American before him, has revealed the secrets of plant nature in the western world.

#### A LIST OF DOCTOR ENGELMANN'S WRITINGS\*

It would seem appropriate to append to this biography the titles of Engelmann's publications, before we take up the culturo-historical matter we have from his tireless pen.

1. De Antholysi Prodrömus. Dissertatio inauguralis phytomorphologica. Cum XCIII iconibus in tab. V. lith. 8vo. maj. Frankfurt a. M. 1832.

2. Das Westland. Nordamerikanische Zeitschrift fuer Deutschland. Herausgegeben von Dr. A. von Koenige, Capt. C. Neyfeld und Dr. G. Engelmann, saemmtlich in St. Louis. 3 Hefte, gr. 8vo. Heidelberg, 1836.

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\*The list here given is that compiled by H. A. Rattermann in "Der deutsche Pionier," Vol. XVI, No. 9, pp. 366-371, inclusive. For Engelmann's work in botany, Mr. Rattermann made use of C. S. Sargent's "Engelmann's Botanical Papers," which appeared in the "Botanical Gazette," Vol. IX, of May, 1884.

For convenience sake the names of the publications in which Engelmann's works appeared will be given in abbreviated form. Here follows the list of abbreviations used:

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| A. J. S.—American Journal of Science, New York.   | P. A. Ac. A. S.—Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.                |
| A. N.—The American Naturalist.  | P. A. Ass. A. S.—Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. |
| B. G.—Botanical Gazette, Indianapolis.  | P. P. A.—Proceedings of the Philadelphia Academy.  |
| B. J. N. H.—Boston Journal of Natural History.  | P. R. R. Rep.—Pacific Railroad Report.   |
| B. T. B. C.—Bulletin of the "Torrey Botanical Club," Boston.  | S. C. K.—Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge.   |
| B. Z.—Botanische Zeitschrift, i. e., Schleiden and Naegeli's Zeitschrift fuer wissenschaftliche Botanik, Zuerich. | T. A. P. S.—Transactions of the Americal Philosophical Society.                          |
| G. C.—Gardener's Chronicle, London.   | T. St. L. A. S.—Transactions of the St. Louis Academy of Science.                        |
| L. J. B.—London Journal of Botany.  | U. S. & M. B. S.—United States and Mexican Boundary Survey.                              |
| M. A. Ac. A. S.—Memoranda of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.   | W. R.—Wheeler's Report of the United States Geological Survey.                           |
| M. G. M.—Meehan's Gardener's Monthly, Philadelphia.   |  |

3. A Monography of North American Cuscutineae. (A. J. S., I, 43. pp. 333-345, 1842.)
4. Corrections and Additions to same. (A. J. S., I, 45., pp. 73-77. 1843. L. J. B., II., pp. 189-199, with original additions and corrections, 1843.)
5. Eine Monographie ueber die Nord-Amerikanische Generis der Cuscuten. Mit einer Tafel. (B. Z., II. S. 553-555. 1844). Zusaetze und Berichtigungen hierzu. (B. Z., IV. S. 273-281. 1846.)
6. Notes and Additions to a "Monography of the North American Species of the Genus Equisetum," by Alexander Braun. (A. J. S., I, 46, pp. 81-91, 1844.)
7. Introductory note to a brief notice of "The Charae of North America," by Alexander Braun. (A. J. S., I, 46, pp. 92-93, 1844.)
8. Catalogue of a Collection of Plants made in Illinois and Missouri, by Charles A. Geyer, with critical remarks, etc. (A. J. S., I, pp. 94-104, 1844.)
9. Plantae Lindheimerianae; an Enumeration of the Plants Collected in Texas, etc., by F. Lindheimer, with Remarks and Descriptions of new Species. (In Collaboration with Professor Asa Gray.) (B. J. N. H., Vol. V, pp. 210-264. 1845.)
10. Meteorological Observations, etc., with Fremont's Expedition to the Rocky Mountains. (In Fremont's Report.) 8vo. Washington, 1845.
11. Notes on the "North American Species of Isoetes and Marsilea," by Alexander Braun. (A. J. S., II, 3. pp. 52-56. 1847.)
12. Ammerkungen ueber einige Farrenkraeuter der Vereinigten Staaten, in Professor G. Kunze's "Die Farrenkraeuter in colorirten Abbildungen, etc.," von Alexander Braun und Dr. G. Engelmann. (B. Z., V, S. 621-630. 1847.)
13. Notes on some Ferns of the United States, by Professor Gustave Kunze, of Leipzig; with notes by A. Braun and Dr. G. Engelmann. (A. J. S., II, 6. pp. 80-89. 1848.)
14. Sketch of the Botany of Dr. A. Wislizenus' Expedition. (An appendix to the "Memoir of a Tour to Northern Mexico, connected with Colonel Doniphan's Expedition in 1846-47, 8vo. pp. 87-115.) United States Publication, 1848.
15. Plantae Fendlerianae, *Drymaria nodosa*, new species; *Talinum calycinum*, new species; North American *Gerania*; *Calliandra Chamaedrys*, new species; *Loranthaceae*. (M. A. Ac. A. S., IV. 1849.)
16. Plantae Lindheimerianae, Part 2: *Vesicaria recurvata*, new species; *Paronychia Lindheimeri*, new species; *Eisenhardtia spinosa*, new species; *Prunus minutiflora*, new species; *Passiflora tenuiloba*, new species; *Cactaceae*; Characters of *Daucosma* (with Gray); *Loranthaceae*. (B. J. N. H., VI, No. 11. 1850.)
17. On the Character of the Vegetation of Southwestern Texas. (P. A. Ass. A. S., Vol. V, pp. 223-229. 1851.)
18. Notes on *Cereus giganteus* of Southeastern California and other California *Cactaceae*. (A. J. S., II, 24. pp. 335-339, 446. 1852.)

19. *Plantae Wrightianae*, Part I, Notes upon *Linum*; *Rhus microphylla*; *Desmodium Wislizeni*; Character of *Fendlerii* (with Gray). (S. C. K., III, Art. 5. 1852.)
20. Further Notes on *Cereus giganteus* of Southeastern California, with a short Account of another allied Species of *Sonora*. (A. J. S., II, 17., pp. 231-235. 1854.)
21. Cactaceae of the Pacific Railroad Survey, Route near 35th Parallel. (P. R. R. Rep., IV, Pt. 5, No. 3. pp. 27-58, with 24 lith. plates). 4to. Washington, 1856.
22. Elaboration of *Cuscuta*, *Euphorbia*, *Alisma*, *Sagittaria*, *Echinodorus*. (Gray's Manual of the Botany of the Northern United States, etc. 2nd Ed. 1856.)
23. Synopsis of the Cactaceae of the Territory of the United States and Adjacent Regions. (P. A. Ac. A. S., III, pp. 259-314, 345-346. 1856.)
24. Ibid. Separate print. 8vo. p. 59, Cambridge, 1856.
25. Account of the Western Part of Texas. (B. J. N. H., VI, pp. 34-40. 1857.)
26. Two new dioecious grasses of the United States. (T. St. L. A. S., I, pp. 431-432, with 3 lith. plates. 1859.)
27. Systematic Arrangement of the Species of the Genus *Cuscuta*, with critical remarks on old Species and Descriptions of new ones. (T. St. L. A. S., Vol. I, pp. 453-523. 1859.)
28. Cactaceae of the Mexican Boundary. (U. S. & M. B. S., II, pt. 1, pp. 1-78, with 76 steel Plate Engravings.) 4to. Washington, 1859.
29. *Generis Cuscutae species secundum ordinem systematicum disposita adjectis in prius jam notas observationibus criticis nec non novarum descriptionibus*. Latine vertit Paulus Acherson. Praefatus est Alexander Braun. gr. 8vo. pp. VIII 88. Berlin, 1860.
30. The Grape Vines of Missouri. (T. St. L. A. S., I, pp. 660-662. 1860.)
31. Remarks on the Hybrids of *Verbena*. (T. St. L. A. S., I, pp. 675-676. 1860.)
32. Botany in the "Report of the Geology and Natural History of the Upper Missouri," by F. V. Hayden. (T. A. P. S., new series, pp. 182-212. 1861.)
33. Cactaceae and Euphorbiaceae of Ives' Report. (Colorado of the West, Part 4. pp. 12-14, 26-27. 1861.)
34. Notes on the Enumeration of the Plants of the Rocky Mountains, by Asa Gray. (A. J. S., II, 34. pp. 256-259; Supplements, 1 and 2, pp. 330-335. 1862.)
35. Remarks on *Nelumbium luteum*; on the dimorphism of *Draba brachycarpa*; on two Species of Fungi destructive to Vineyards; on the Nature of the Pulp of Cactus Fruit; on the Structure and Fruit of the Genus *Ribes*. (T. St. L. A. S., II. 1862.)
36. Addition to the Cactus Flora of the United States. (T. St. L. A. S., II, pp. 197-204. 1862.)

37. On *Pinus aristata*, a new species of Pine discovered by Dr. C. C. Parry in the alpine regions of Colorado Territory; and on some other Pines of the Rocky Mountains. (T. St. L. A. S., II. pp. 205-214, 2 plates, 1862; pp. 384-394.)
38. Note on *Polygonum tenue*. (P. P. A., March, 1863, p. 75.)
39. New Species of *Gentiana* from the alpine regions of the Rocky Mountains. (T. St. L. A. S., II. pp. 214-218, 5 plates. 1863.)
40. Remarks on the Fruit and Seed of different Species of *Viburnum* and *Cornus*. (T. St. L. A. S., II. pp. 269-271. 1865.)
41. New Plants from the Rocky Mountains; *Nuphar polysepalum*, etc. (T. St. L. A. S., II, pp. 282-285. 1865.)
42. Elaboration of *Cillitriche*, *Pinus*, *Juncus*, *Sparganium*, *Isoetes*. (Gray's Manual of the Botany of Northern United States, 5th Ed. 1867—In addition to genera in 2nd Edition.)
43. A Revision of the North American Species of the Genus *Juncus*, with a Description of new or imperfectly known Species. (T. St. L. A. S., II. pp. 424-498, 580. 1868.)
44. Ueber die Charaktere der *Abietinum* Genera. (B. Z. XXVI. S. 484-487. 1868.)
45. *Speirodela*. (B. T. B. C., I. pp. 42-43; II. pp. 46-47. 1870, 1871.)
46. Notes on *Opuntia* and *Speirodela*. (B. T. B. C., II. pp. 34-35. 1871.)
47. *Cactaceae*, *Yucca*, *Agave*, *Hesperaloe*. (King's Report, Geological Survey of the 40th Parallel, V, pp. 115-120, 496-497. 1871.)
48. The Flower of *Yucca* and its Fertilization. (B. T. B. C., III, p. 33. 1872.)
49. *Agave*. (B. T. B. C., III, p. 37. 1872.)
50. *Acreuthobium minutum*. (T. St. L. A. S., III, p. 83. 1872.)
51. The true Grape of the old United States. (A. N., VI, pp. 539-542. 1872.)
52. Notes on the Genus *Yucca*. (T. St. L. A. S., III, pp. 17-64, 210-214, 371-372. 1873.)
53. *Juncus maritimus*. (B. T. B. C., IV, p. 40. 1873.)
54. *Vitis*. (B. T. B. C., V, pp. 233-234, 310-311. 1874.)
55. The true Grape Vines of the United States. (6th Annual Report State Entomologist of Missouri. pp. 70-76. 1874.)
56. Account of the three western Species of *Isoetes*: I. *Bolandieri*, Engelm.; I. *Pigma*, Engelm.; and I. *Nuttalli*, A. Braun. (A. N., VIII, pp. 214-215. 1874.)
57. Lecture on the Forests of the Rocky Mountains. (Reported in the St. Louis Democrat, March 6, 1875. M. G. M., XVII, pp. 151-153, 181-184, 214-217. 1875.)
58. The true Grape Vines of the United States. (Bushberg Catalogue, 2nd edition, pp. 4-11, with plate. 1875.)
59. Characters of the *Abies subalpina*. (A. N., Vol. X pp. 553-555. 1876.)

60. Notes on Coniferae. (P. P. A., 1876, pp. 173-175.—M. G. M., XIX, pp. 19, 308. 1876.)
61. Report of an Expedition across the Great Basin of Utah Territory in 1859, by Captain J. H. Simpson, Engineer United States Army. (Appendix "M: Botany," pp. 435-447, with 3 Tables.) 4to. Washington, 1876.
62. Oak and Grape Fungi. (T. St. L. A. S., III, pp. 215-216. 1876.)
63. Morphology of the carpellary Scale of Coniferae. (A. J. S., III, 12, p. 469. 1876.)
64. About the Oaks of the United States. (T. St. L. A. S., III, pp. 372-400, 539-543. 1876, 1877.)
65. Geographical Range and Migration of Plants and Animals. (T. St. L. A. S., III, pp. 219-232. 1876.)
66. A new *Cuscuta*; *Cuscuta racemosa*; *Pinus serotinae*. (B. G., II. 1877.)
67. On *Abies Menziesii* and *Abies Engelmanni*. (G. C., new series, VII, p. 790. 1877.)
68. Geographical Distribution of the North American Flora. (T. St. L. A. S., III, pp. 270-271. 1877.)
69. The American Junipers of the Section *Sabina*. (T. St. L. A. S., III, pp. 583-592. 1877.)
70. Notes on *Isoetes melanospora*, Engelmann, from Georgia. (T. St. L. A. S., III, p. 395, 1877.)
71. *Agave*. (T. St. L. A. S., III, pp. 291-322, 370-371, with two Photographs. 1878.)
72. Flowers of *Agave Shawii*. (T. St. L. A. S., III, pp. 579-582, with one Table. 1878.)
73. The Species *Isoetes* of the Indian Territory. (B. G., III, No. 1. 1878.)
74. *Baptisia sulphurea*. (B. G., III, No. 65. 1878.)
75. A Synopsis of the American Firs.—*Abies*, Link. (T. St. L. A. S., III, pp. 593-602. 1878.)
76. Cactaceae, Asclepiadeae, Gentianeae, Cuscutae, Euphorbiaceae, Cupuliferae, Loranthaceae, Coniferae, Amaryllideae, Juncaceae. (Wheeler's Report, United States Geographic Survey, VI.) 4to. Washington, 1878.
77. Pines. (Article in Johnson's Universal Encyclopedia, III, pp. 1256-1275. 1878.)
78. *Cuscuta*. (Gray's Synopsis of the Flora of North America, I, pp. 219-224. 1878.)
79. The gymnospermy of Coniferae. (Criticism of a Treatise by Dr. L. Celakovski in the Journal "Flora" for June, 1879.—A. J. S., III, 18, pp. 311-313. 1879.)
80. Wild Grapes. (T. St. L. A. S., IV, p. 44. 1880.)
81. Revision of the Genus *Pinus*, and Description of *Pinus Elliottii*. (T. St. L. A. S., IV, pp. 161-193, with 3 Tables. 1880.)
82. The Acorns and their Germination. (T. St. L. A. S., IV, pp. 190-192. 1880.)

83. *Catalpa speciosa*, Warder. (B. G., V, No. 1. 1880.)
84. Vitality of the seeds of serotinous Cones. (B. G., V. No. 62. 1880.)
85. *Fraxinus quadrangulata*. (B. G., V. No. 63. 1880.)
86. Cupuliferae, Lorantheceae, Abientineae. (Report Geological Survey of California, II. 1880.)
87. Notes on *Abies amabilis* and *Abies grandis*. (G. C., new series, XIV, p. 720. 1880.)
88. Some Account of the Vegetation along the Great Lakes. (T. St. L. A. S., IV, p. 20. 1880.)
89. Some Additions to the North American Flora. (B. G., VI, pp. 223-225, 238. 1881.)
90. Western Coniferae. (B. G., VII, pp. 4-5. 1882.)
91. Some Additions to the North American Flora. (B. G., VII, pp. 5-6. 1882.)
92. Texas Oaks. (B. G., VII, p. 14. 1882.)
93. *Yucca elata*, new Species, *Yucca macrocarpa*, new Species. (B. G., VII, p. 17. 1882.)
94. Female Flowers of Coniferae. (B. G., VII, pp. 101-105. 1882.)
95. The black-fruited *Cartaegi*, and a new Species. (B. G., VII, pp. 127-129. 1882.)
96. Additions to the Flora of the United States—*Crataegus arborescens*; *sagittaria natans*. (B. T. B. C., IX, pp. 4-5. 1882.)
97. *Rosa minutifolia*, new species. (B. T. B. C., IX, pp. 97-98, 127. 1882.)
98. Note on *Picea Engelmanni* and *Picea pungens*. (G. C., new series, XVII, p. 145. 1882.)
99. *Pinus tatisquama*, new species. (G. C., new series, XVIII, p. 712, Supplement 125. 1882.)
100. The female Flower of Coniferae. (A. J. S., III, 23, pp. 418-422; 24, pp. 233-235. 1882.)
101. The Genus *Isoetes* in North America. (T. St. L. A. S., IV, pp. 358-390. 1882.)
102. The same in separate print with two tables. 8vo., pp. 33. St. Louis, 1882.)
103. Note on *Catalpa speciosa*. (T. St. L. A. S., IV, p. 50. 1882.)
104. *Euphorbia detoidea*. (Chapman's Flora of the Southern States. Supplement. p. 647. 1883.)
105. *Plantago pusilla*. (B. G., VIII, p. 175. 1883.)
106. *Vitis palmata*. (B. G., VIII, p. 254. 1883.)
107. Brook's Wood Specimen. (B. G., VIII, pp. 337-338. 1883.)
108. Morphology of Spines. (B. G., VIII, p. 338. 1883.)
109. The true Grape Vines of the United States, and the Diseases of the Grape Vines. (The Buschberg Catalogue, 3rd edition, pp. 9-20, 47-48, with plates. 1883.)

The same in separate print, 4to, pp. 15. St. Louis, 1883.



110. The mean and extreme daily Temperatures in St. Louis for 47 Years, as calculated by daily observations. (T. St. L. A. S., IV, pp. 496-508, with a lith. Table. 1883.)

111. A new *Aristida*. (B. G., IX, pp. 76-77. 1884.)

A RECORD OF LEARNED SOCIETIES OF WHICH DOCTOR ENGELMANN WAS A MEMBER OR WHO HONORED HIM IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER

1. Member of the Botanical Society of Regensburg. February 10, 1832.
2. Associate Member of the Senkenberg Society of Natural Science in Frankfurt am Main. August 29, 1832.
3. Active Member of the Western Academy of Science, St. Louis, January 1, 1837.
4. Corresponding Member of the Geographic Society of Frankfurt am Main. May 3, 1837.
5. Corresponding Member of the Rhenish Society of Natural Science in Mainz. October 16, 1838.
6. Corresponding Member of the Physical Society of Frankfurt am Main. March 21, 1840.
7. Member of the American Association of Geologists and Naturalists. April 2, 1840.
8. Corresponding Member of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. October 27, 1840.
9. Honorary Member of "Pollichia" in Duerkheim. October 6, 1843.
10. Corresponding Member of the Lyceum of Natural History, New York. August 3, 1846.
11. Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston. August 12, 1846.
12. Corresponding Member of the Society for the Advancement of Natural Sciences in Freiburg (Baden). February 26, 1847.
13. Member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. September 20, 1847.
14. Corresponding Member of the Society of Natural Science in Hamburg. March 1, 1852.
15. Active Member of the Academy of Science, St. Louis. March 3, 1856.
16. Non-resident Member of the Geographic Society in Berlin. April 4, 1857.
17. Corresponding Member of the Imperial Society of Science, Cherbourg. October 11, 1861.
18. Member of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia. April 18, 1862.
19. Honorary Commissioner of Missouri to the Paris Exposition. March 30, 1867.
20. Honorary Member of the Alumni Association of Washington University. February 18, 1868.

21. Member of the Zoological-Botanical Society in Vienna. July 27, 1869.
22. Honorary Member of the Academy of Sciences of San Francisco, California. January 8, 1870.
23. Honorary Member of the Gynecological Society of Boston. April 19, 1870.
24. Corresponding Member of the Academy of Science, New Orleans. April 20, 1875.
25. Honorary Member of the Lyceum of Natural Sciences, San Diego, California. June 7, 1875.
26. Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws, University of Missouri. June 24, 1875.
27. Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. August 16, 1875.
28. Honorary Member of the St. Louis Obstetrical and Gynecological Society. February 16, 1878.
29. Member of the Societa Londoniensis, Linnaean. May 2, 1878.
30. Honorary Member of the Botanical Society of the Province of Brandenburg in Berlin. October, 1879.
31. Honorary Doctor of Philosophy, University of Wuerzburg. July 9, 1881.
32. Associate Member of the Royal Botanical Society of Belgium, Brussels. December 3, 1882.

*Without Date of Admission*

33. Member German Medical Society of St. Louis.
34. Member of the St. Louis Medical Society.
35. Member of the St. Louis Obstetrical and Gynecological Society.
36. Member of the St. Louis Medico-Chirurgical Society.
37. Member of the American Medical Association.

We shall now give the translation of some of the interesting things that Doctor Engelmann has left us, for the most part hidden in the three numbers of the little journal, "Das Westland," of which he was one of the editors. As this journal was published in 1837 the observations that he has recorded therein all pertain to the early years of his American residence.

Duden's florid account of climatic conditions in Missouri has caused so much hardship and inconvenience to the immigrants that came after him, that Engelmann seems to have felt it as his obligation to inform his German friends of the actual state of things in the New World. The first contribution from his pen in "Das Westland" is entitled,

"The Climate of the Mississippi Country with Special Reference to the Region Around St. Louis." We let him tell his story:

"It is of the utmost importance that an emigrant should have definite information regarding the climatic conditions of the region where he contemplates making his future home. Almost no item is so poorly understood in Germany as this, when people come to speak of America.

"It is plausible enough why such misconceptions should prevail. St. Louis is situated ten degrees farther south than Strasbourg or Baden Baden. It is crossed by the same parallel as is Lisbon. It is not much farther north than is Messina. Why should one not expect an Italian climate, or at least a climate similar to that of southern France? Humboldt's theory of isothermic lines is really known to the scholars only. Another reason why so many misconceptions obtain is the fact that many books from which we derive our information actually give us wrong conceptions. In his large 'Geography of the United States,' Weimar, 1823, Hassel says, on page 665, regarding the state of Illinois, that it has a warm, agreeable climate, that the winters are little felt, that idigo can be grown there, that on its southern border, along the Ohio, sugar-cane grows, that delicate southern plants live through the winter. Well, St. Louis is situated one and one-half degrees north of this 'sugar belt,' no mountains separate it from those parts. How could the difference be so great? No one could be blamed to find a corresponding climate in Missouri. To be sure, on page 1014 Hassel describes the climate of Missouri more accurately, when he says that at St. Louis the Mississippi can often be crossed by heavy wagons on a bridge of ice, as in fact it can.

"The other source of information is Duden's 'Report.' Duden tells us that there is no real winter in Missouri, only a season of inclement weather, and that the woods never lose their green foliage entirely. This he says at least in his new edition, page 65, concerning the first winter which he spent here. Later on he does not mention the green woods anymore, but still speaks of the mildness of the winter, cf. page 225. Duden can justify himself if he derives his definition of

winter from Sweden or Russia, and if he looks for the green foliage of the forest in cedars and other evergreens, or a few greenish brown leaves of the raspberry, etc. Of his readers he must not expect that they make such a sophisticated interpretation of his words. Even along the Arkansas line the deciduous trees lose their leaves in November, while along the Gulf Coast, at New Orleans, etc., they lose them in December.

"Finally, as a last reason for the extravagantly favorable conception which one often has concerning the local climate I add, that we are prone to paint the country of our choice in the most attractive colors. Every item which we see we snatch up to associate with it a long series of pleasing conceptions. Unfavorable references we are prone to discredit, or even attribute them to the ignorance of the author. If then we come here and find things different than we had been taught and had hoped for we are disappointed, and our discontent is still increased by the fact that we have to live in imperfect dwellings, especially if we are in the country, that the method of heating the houses is new to us, that the manner of living in the country makes the cold seem much more painful than the same degree of cold would be in our formerly accustomed circumstances. Disappointment, whether it is caused by one thing or another, exists all too frequently. I consider it therefore, my duty to give the reader an accurate idea of the climate, on the basis of reliable data which can not be misunderstood by anyone, data which are based on my own observations and on incontestable sources.

"I have now lived for three summers and four winters in the Mississippi country, and must confess, that in agreement with Flint, 'History of the Valley of the Mississippi,' page 295, I find the chief characteristic of its climate to be its inconstancy. Here it is more difficult to predict the future on the basis of the past than in any country of which I have ever heard, excepting possibly the Asiatic steppes.

"The climate is characterized by great variations in temperature, ranging from great heat to great cold. Rapid changes occur more frequently in the winter than in the summer. Another characteristic is that there are so many cloud-

less days, periods of dry weather, and then again, especially at the beginning of the summer, violent thunderstorms. It is, of course, well known that one can not well judge the temperature and the rainfall of any one year by the performance of another year. Here this is even less possible than in other places. It is claimed that the period when Duden was here, 1824 to 1827, the summers were really less hot and the winters less cold than during the past years. Much older data show, however, that the experiences of the last few years are not exceptional. At the time when Duden was here, in the year 1826, the Duke of Weimar made his journey through this country. He states on page 125 of his journal, that coming from New Orleans he arrived in St. Louis on April 9, and found himself set back in the winter. The same author reports that in the middle of April of that same year frost caused great damage to the blossoms of fruit trees at New Harmony, which is situated on the Wabash, 130 miles east and even farther south than St. Louis.

"Flint says concerning the state of Missouri that its climate was very similar to that of Illinois, that the winter begins about Christmas time and that it often is very severe, that a solid bridge of ice is formed over the Missouri river, which can be crossed for many weeks with heavy wagons. He says that in 1818 this was the case for nine weeks, during which period intermittent warm days often occurred. He states further that the weather is usually agreeable again in March, but that periods of cold often recur as late as May.

"My residence in Missouri and Illinois has at times been slightly interrupted, but I have never failed to make observations of the weather and especially of the temperature. The results of these observations I shall incorporate here. I consider data pertaining to the weather of greatest value when they are associated with its influence on living things, especially vegetation. Why do we study the climate of a country at all, except for the influence it has on the people? Certainly we can draw more accurate conclusions from its effects on plants than on the effect it has on the thermometer. For man spring does not begin on the day when the calendar says that spring has come, neither does it begin with the occurrence

of a certain degree of temperature. Spring begins when the meadows are green, when the seeding begins, when the trees are in bloom and the forest puts on its foliage. Summer begins with the harvest, autumn with the ripening of fruit and the falling off of the leaves, and winter prevails when vegetation has become dormant. I do not say that this is climate, but it is our best mirror for climate. I have therefore always paid heed to the course of vegetation, and shall here also communicate a few of my observations regarding the same.

"I must add that in 1833 my observations were for the most part made in Missouri, about ten miles west of St. Louis. In the following years, however, in Illinois, about twenty miles southeast of that city, and finally in St. Louis itself.

"I must add, moreover, that my observations were always taken at favorable places, where the temperature was rather higher than at other places. In the country I made observations in higher situated, dry places. In the city it is also somewhat warmer than in the country, because the buildings check the movements of the air, because of the many fires, because of the slight mist that hovers over the city, and finally because of the greater effect of the sun's rays on the streets and the walls of the houses.

"1. Temperature in degrees of the Reaumur thermometer by years:

		1833	1834	1835	1836
January.....	Medium.....		-5.1	1.1	-0.5
	Minimum.....		-22.5	-10.0	-14.0
	Maximum.....		11.0	12.0	8.0
February.....	Medium.....		3.8	-4.7	0.2
	Minimum.....		-15.0	-25.5	-18.0
	Maximum.....		17.0	13.0	16.0
March.....	Medium... 5.6	5.6	5.7	4.5	2.8
	Minimum. -17.0	-17.0	-7.0	-10.5	-11.0
	Maximum. 22.0	22.0	20.0	17.0	17.0
April.....	Medium... 11.8	11.8	11.9	.....	11.8
	Minimum. -1.0	-1.0	-3.5	.....	-1.5
	Maximum. 27.0	27.0	27.0	.....	25.5

May.....	Medium...	16.6	14.8	.....	.....
	Minimum.	10.0	4.0	.....	.....
	Maximum.	28.0	28.0	.....	.....
June.....	Medium...	18.2	19.3	18.0	.....
	Minimum.	11.0	7.5	2.0	.....
	Maximum.	28.5	30.0	29.0	.....
July.....	Medium...	20.7	21.9	18.0	.....
	Minimum.	11.0	11.0	8.0	.....
	Maximum.	31.0	31.7	29.5	.....
August.....	Medium.....		21.6	.....	.....
	Minimum.....		11.0	.....	.....
	Maximum.....		34.0	.....	.....
September.....	Medium.....		14.4	.....	.....
	Minimum.....		2.5	.....	.....
	Maximum.....		29.0	.....	.....
October.....	Medium.....		9.6	.....	.....
	Minimum.....		-4.0	.....	.....
	Maximum.....		23.0	.....	.....
November.....	Medium.....		6.2	.....	.....
	Minimum.....		-7.0	.....	.....
	Maximum.....		21.0	.....	.....
December.....	Medium...	1.9	0.6	.....	.....
	Minimum.	-7.0	-13.0	.....	.....
	Maximum.	10.5	11.0	.....	.....

"Altho the table includes only a limited number of observations, it nevertheless shows sufficiently the great variation of temperature in the same month, in the same year, and again the great variation of the same in different years. The summers of 1833 and 1834 were considered very hot. They were followed by severe winters of rather short duration. The summer of 1835 was rather damp and cool, and the winter

that followed was long protracted but not very cold. In the first two years mentioned the Mississippi and Missouri were frozen over,—especially hard in January and February of 1834. In the winter of 1832-33 the Mississippi, at least, was open. This was also the case in the winter just passed, while the Missouri was frozen. These rivers, just like the rivers of Germany, would not freeze much, if it were not for the ice from their upper watercourses and their tributaries. Nevertheless it requires a considerable degree of cold to congeal these masses of swiftly flowing water to a solid bridge of ice.

"In the year 1834 it became very cold once more toward the end of April, between three and five degrees R., and in 1835 frost occurred in some places near St. Louis during the last days of June.

"How high the temperature rises is shown in the table. If I could have presented the whole series of observations, it would be seen that in July and August the heat is often very continuous. So, for example, in August, 1834, the mercury rose to 32 degrees R., and above during four successive days, and on each day prevailed at this height for about four hours. Then the nights were also extraordinarily warm. On the other hand, the nights are also at times very cold. During the last summer they were really at times cold.

"Neither heat nor cold are felt equally intensely in all places nor by all people. In the cities and higher situated dry places, where there is less evaporation, it is warmer. It is colder in the lowlands, where, especially in the spring and fall, fog prevails. On clear, calm evenings and mornings the thermometer may register a difference of five to six degrees in such places when compared with the highlands, even though they may be only half a mile away. If a strong wind blows and if the weather is cloudy this difference is observed but little or not at all. It is, moreover, colder on the open prairies to the north, where in the winter the northwest wind blows unhindered over great plains of snow. During the summer the heat is much less oppressive in the hilly, deforested regions, where there is a breeze at most times. At such times it is much more oppressive in the dense forest, which, though protecting one from the sun's rays also shuts out the refreshing



breeze. When no wind blows, it is, of course, more agreeable in the woods. If one should desire more protection from the cold than from the heat he should choose the southern slope of a dry, wooded hill.

"2. Weather conditions:

Year.	Partially Days			Dry	Days		
	Clear days.	cloudy days.	without sunshine.		Rainy days.	on which snow fell.	Thunder- storms.
1833.....	159	125	81	266	88	11	57
1834.....	148	170	47	260	91	14	63
1835.....	141	196	28	265	89	11	53

"From this table it is seen how the climate of the Mississippi Valley is characterized by dryness and clearness of sky. It shows with great uniformity that more than two-fifths of the days in the year are clear. (I call those days clear on which there are no clouds, or only a few clouds in the sky, and the sun shines uninterruptedly the whole day.) Only from 28 to 81 days each of these years were entirely without sunshine. Days marked as rainy or snowy days are not such on which it rained or snowed from morning till evening. Of such I observed only from four to ten in any year that I have reference to. What I mean in the sentence above are days on which it rained or snowed for a longer or shorter time. Of this kind we had a hundred, more or less, during the time of observation. The number of thunderstorms is above fifty, occurring on forty different days, most of them occurring in May and June, some also in September. These months are also on an average the wettest. On the other hand, February and March, July and August, and October to December are usually the driest months. Though the number of rainy days is small, and though so little rain falls at times, nevertheless a great deal of moisture is invisibly suspended in the air, and forms as heavy dew.

"Regarding the amount of rainfall I also have data. Flint says that eighteen inches is the average amount. In the year 1811, however, a year which is commonly called, l'année des eaux, it is claimed that forty inches of rain fell. On the east coast of America it rains more. Twenty-six years of observation have shown that the average rainfall for Philadelphia is

36.1 inches. It is said that in 1830, when it was the wettest, 45 inches fell, and in 1816, the driest year, only 27.4 inches. By way of comparison I add that the average annual rainfall in England is 29 inches, in Paris 18 inches, in Heidelberg 26 inches. In other places in Germany and France observations show a variation of 12 to 36 inches. I must, however, remark that most rain does not necessarily fall during the wettest years. If it rains heavily the showers do not last long and the water quickly flows off without penetrating into the ground. In order to obtain a more accurate insight one would have to compare the amount of water that fell with the number of rainy days, or still more accurately the time during which it rained.

"3. Wind.

The winds are very strong here, but rarely last long. As they change direction the weather and the temperature also changes quickly. In general the west and northwest winds are the prevailing and strongest winds. In the summer and autumn they bring beautiful, clear weather, while in the winter they often bring extraordinary cold. After the northwest wind the southeast wind is the most common. In the spring it usually brings milder, often wet weather. Less cold, but also less indicative of clear weather are the north and the northeast winds. In the winter they are often accompanied by rain or snow. The southwest wind occasionally brings very mild weather in the winter, while in the summer it is accompanied by the greatest heat and violent thunderstorms. At times it is even as violent as the northwest wind. East winds, on the other hand, are rare. Storms are common in winter and autumn. They are especially frequent in the spring, while in the summer they are less numerous. Occasionally the movements of the air develop into tornadoes, which sweep over a narrow strip of land.

"The change of wind-direction occurs usually quite regularly, as it does in other level regions, where no mountains intervene to break the current, or as it is on the ocean at this latitude. The west wind is followed by north wind, then east, south, and again west wind. The wind may blow longer from one direction than from another, and the time of revolu-

tion is also by no means regular. The whole revolution often transpires in one or two days. In midsummer, however, it occasionally requires two weeks or even longer.

#### "4. Vegetation.

The first suggestion of the coming spring are the blossoms of the hazel bushes, after that the elms and maples come into bloom. About the same time the perennial plants produce leaves and the grass becomes green. When the elms are in bloom the gooseberries and elderberries send out leaves. Now the willows and some spring flowers come into bloom. Many bushes and the weeping willow, as also the poplars become green. Then follow the fruit trees, peaches, plums, cherries, then the pears and finally the apples. At the same time as the early fruit trees the redbud (*cercis canadensis*) come into bloom, and the hickory sends out shoots. At about the same time the later fruit trees, the splendid dogwood (*cornus florida*), and the acacias come into leaf. When the fruit trees have blossomed the woods become fully leaved out, the rye heads and so does also the wheat. In the regions where tulip trees and beeches grow, the former blossom at the same time as the peaches, the latter at the same time as the cherries.

"The period of vegetation just detailed, usually lasts in these parts from the beginning of March to the beginning of May. In this year, 1836, to be sure, it did not begin till the latter part of March, while in 1834, after an extremely cold January, it began soon after the middle of February. Usually the grass is green by the end of March, and affords sufficient pasturage for stock by the middle of April. A week later the fruit trees are in full bloom, and by the end of this month or the beginning of May the woods are green. Up to this time one is not entirely safe from killing frosts, even though they are rare. In 1834 we had not only a very early but also a very beautiful spring. The cherries had already attained the size of small rifle bullets, and the forest was in full leaf when on the night of April 26 to 27 a hard frost came. The thermometer dropped to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  degrees R., below zero and in many places even to -5 degrees. With few exceptions the entire vegetation of two months' growth was killed and all hope of a fruit crop was lost. This occurred not only in

Missouri and Illinois but in all states north of the Ohio, even in some states south of this river and in northern Arkansas. In St. Louis itself, which was protected somewhat by a cloud of vapor and smoke only a few things suffered harm, and in a week the acacias were in bloom, while in other places, where they had suffered from the frost, they did not bloom till the beginning of June.

"In the following spring, 1835, when the season was less advanced, a hard frost came on the night of April 16 to 17. It killed many fruit blossoms. Nevertheless there was a good crop of fruit that year. The frost had destroyed only the more advanced blossoms. The later blossoms had so much more room to develope.

"Cherries, of which we have only the sour variety, become ripe in June, when also rye and wheat are harvested. Oates are harvested in July. At the end of this month the early apples mature. A few weeks later come the peaches. For the past four years Missouri and Illinois have had either no peaches at all or only a very few. This is due to the severity of the winters and also to late frosts. This year, 1836, however, we have every reason to expect an abundant peach crop. By the end of August a part of the corn crop is harvested. The acacias and the honey locust begin to shed their leaves. During September and October nature has an indescribable charm. To appreciate the flaming splendor of colors that adorn the whole country, one must see the wonderful shrubbery and trees that America has. Toward the end of October, however, the greater part of the forest is bare of leaves. Presently the winter begins to claim its rights, though the weather continues to be nice for some time yet.

"5. Effect of this climate on man.

"In regard to the influence of the climate on the people, especially those that immigrate from Germany, I must say, that in spite of great extremes and other unpleasant features already mentioned, my observation upon my own condition, as also on that of others, confirms me that, on the whole, it is beneficial. Concerning the prevailing ailments which may be fairly attributed to the effects of climate, I purpose writing in a subsequent number."

*(To be continued.)*

## THE NATIONAL OLD TRAILS ROAD AT LEXINGTON

BY B. M. LITTLE

On September 17, 1928, there was unveiled at Lexington, Missouri's monument to the Pioneer Mother—one of twelve memorials given by the National Society Daughters of the American Revolution, to mark the historic highway of America, the National Old Trails Road. These impressive monuments have been made possible by the National Old Trails Committee of the National Society D. A. R., under the leadership of Mrs. John Trigg Moss of St. Louis, working in collaboration with the National Old Trails Road Association, of which Judge Harry S. Truman of Independence, is president. When the enterprise is completed, there will be one monument in each of the twelve states through which the National Old Trails Road passes—Maryland, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona and California—erected as tributes to the mothers of pioneer days—as everlasting memorials to American womanhood.

Missouri's statue, which has been committed to the keeping of Lexington, stands in a grassy park where the National Old Trails Road and State Highway Number 13 enter the town from the concrete cliff drive and bridge approach—where the old Jack's Ferry road, over which traveled the busy river commerce of days that are gone, winds its way down to the water's edge—where he who will, may stand on the very ground that knew the constant passing of the pack pony, and listen to the shuffling tread of oxen and the rumbling of the misty covered wagons of the long ago.

This monument is made of algonite stone, of the color of Missouri granite, and stands eighteen feet above the ground. The four sides of the pedestal contain the following inscriptions:

*Front*

(D. A. R. INSIGNIA)  
N. S. D. A. R. MEMORIAL  
TO THE  
PIONEER MOTHERS  
OF THE  
COVERED WAGON DAYS

*Rear*

THE NATIONAL OLD TRAILS ROAD

*Right*

LEXINGTON  
SETTLED 1820 BY VIRGINIA AND KENTUCKY  
PIONEERS  
EARLY TERMINUS OF RIVER TRANSPORTATION  
STARTING POINT ON THE WESTERN TRAIL  
OF THE  
PACK PONY AND OX CART

*Left*

JOHN, JAMES, AND ROBERT AULL  
RUSSELL, MAJORS AND WADDELL  
DONIPHAN  
PIONEERS—TRADERS—SOLDIERS—CITIZENS  
OF  
LEXINGTON  
WHO GAVE VALIANT SERVICE TO THE WINNING  
OF THE WEST

As a part of the day's ceremonies, five bronze tablets were also unveiled under the auspices of the Lexington Rotary Club which joined with the Lafayette County Court, the City Council of Lexington, and the Lafayette-Lexington Chapter D. A. R. in providing the markers. A brief description of each tablet with its inscription and some comment on the historical import of the site marked is given.



MONUMENT TO THE PIONEER MOTHER AT LEXINGTON, MO.





On the north side of Main Street near its intersection with Broadway, is a two-story brick building, on the walls of which is the following inscription:

LAST SITE OF THE AULL SAVINGS BANK  
ESTABLISHED IN 1827 AS A FACILITY OF  
THE MERCANTILE ESTABLISHMENT OF  
JOHN, JAMES, AND ROBERT AULL,  
PIONEER MERCHANTS, SHIPPERS,  
OUTFITTERS FOR THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT.

In 1822, John Aull, who a short time previously had come out to Missouri from Delaware, built a warehouse and store building on the river front at Lexington, and set up a commission and general trading business. He soon became one of the most popular and respected business men in the West. His death occurred in New Orleans in 1842, while returning to the United States from a trip to Europe. Two younger brothers, James and Robert Aull, followed John Aull west from Delaware in 1825, at which time James established a large general merchandising concern in Lexington. In 1827, he started a branch house in Independence, another in Liberty the following year, and a third establishment in Richmond in 1830. During these years he continued in personal control of his Lexington business, managing the branches through assistants. In 1831, James and Robert Aull joined to develop perhaps the largest and best known business in the West. James remained in Lexington until 1846, when he went to Mexico with Samuel C. Owens, his assistant at Independence, who was killed at the Battle of Sacramento in 1847; James Aull was murdered by thieves in Chihuahua a few months later. Robert Aull moved from Liberty, where he had been in charge of a branch house, to Lexington, establishing himself under the firm name of R. Aull & Company. He organized the private bank which the tablet marks, as a facility for his shipping business. The old vault used for this institution may still be seen in the Hofman barber shop. Robert Aull retained his business interests in Lexington even after the westward movement had reached its climax, dying in Texas in 1878.

The Aull brothers were men of the highest character, of excellent judgment and great business integrity. Located as Lexington was at the starting point of the main trails to the far West, the business career of these three brothers was linked closely with the westward extension of the frontier. Santa Fe traders, emigrants bound for the Oregon country, gold hunters headed for California, trappers, explorers of the West—all this motley group of pioneers transacted business with the Aull brothers. As early as 1827 trappers and fur traders were securing their outfits in Lexington. The Lexington Historical Society has complete files of the letters of the Aulls, which indicate most interestingly the character and the magnitude of the business transacted at this early day. A visitor to Lexington in 1837, while the western trade was flourishing, wrote the following: "Lexington is one of the towns from which outfits are made in merchandise, mules, oxen, and wagons, for the Santa Fe or New Mexican trade. The fur traders, who pass to the mountains by land, make this town a place of rendezvous, and frequently are going out and coming in with their wagons and packed mules, at the same period of going and coming that is chosen by the Mexican traders. Lexington is therefore occasionally a thoroughfare of traders of great enterprise, and caravans of infinite value. The dress and arms of the traders, trappers and hunters of these caravans, and comparison of the horses and mules they ride, present as great diversity as the general resurrection itself of all nations and ages can promise for the speculations of the curious."

Between 23rd and 24th on South Street is a large open square, marked by a concrete pillar that is inscribed as follows:

SITE OF FIRST COURT HOUSE  
OF  
LAFAYETTE COUNTY  
IN WHICH  
ALEXANDER W. DONIPHAN  
WAS ADMITTED TO THE BAR  
BY  
JUDGE DAVID TODD  
JULY 26, 1830



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF LEXINGTON, MO., DURING STEAMBOATING DAYS.



Doniphan lived in Lexington for a time, practicing his profession. He organized Company "B" of his famous regiment in Lexington, and numerous Lexington and Lafayette County men joined his expedition, shared the hardships of the thousand-mile march across the plains of Kansas and the deserts of New Mexico, and returned, filled with enthusiasm over the possibilities of further trade development with the far West. This enthusiasm caused Lexington to contribute a goodly quota of adventurous men to the gold rush to California in 1849.

At the northwest corner of 10th and Main streets there stood for many years a quaint brick building of great historic interest. It fell from old age and general decrepitude in 1926 and a new structure stands in its place, bearing a bronze tablet inscribed with the following words:

SITE OF WAREHOUSE OF RUSSELL, MAJORS &  
WADDELL  
OUTFITTERS FOR THE MEXICO AND CALIFORNIA  
TRADE  
TRANSPORTATION AGENTS  
FURNISHERS FOR WESTERN ARMY POSTS  
OWNERS AND OPERATORS OF THE PONY EXPRESS

One of the most famous men in the overland trade of the early days was Alexander Majors, freighter, who was born in Kentucky in 1814, but was brought by his parents to Lafayette County, Missouri, when he was five years old. He began business in 1848 with an outfit of six wagons and the necessary ox teams. He introduced some noteworthy innovations into the freighting business. When he hired a man to work for him, the following contract was subscribed to: "While I am in the employ of A. Majors, I agree not to use profane language, not to get drunk, not to gamble, not to treat animals cruelly, and not to do anything else that is incompatible with the conduct of a gentleman. And I agree, if I violate any of the above conditions, to accept my discharge without any pay for my services." Other wagon trains ran on Sunday, but the trains of Alexander Majors rested on Sunday, and the men were paid the same wages as if they had worked.

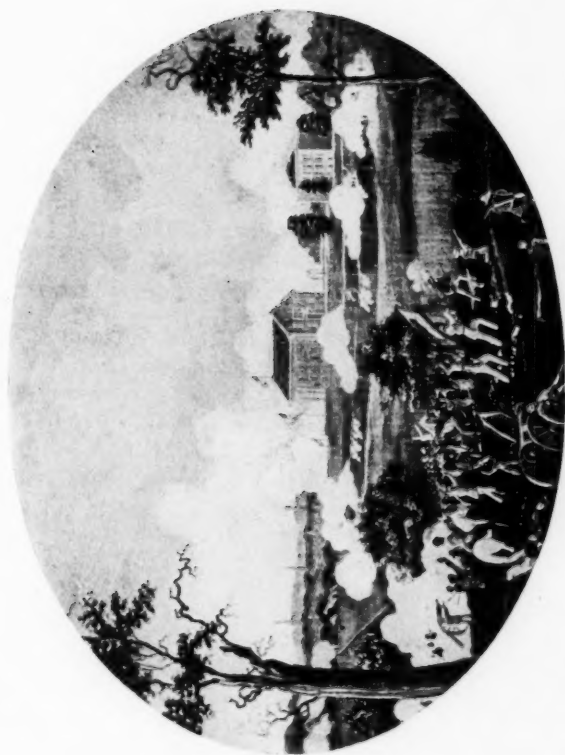
His first westward trip in 1848 was successful, and he enlarged his outfit to include more wagons and teams. By 1851 he had twenty-five wagons and was carrying on a lively business in transporting supplies for the various army posts on the frontier. In 1854 a firm was established consisting of Alexander Majors, William H. Russell of Lexington, who had had many years of experience with the Aull Brothers, and William B. Waddell also of Lexington, to engage in the general freighting business under the name of Russell, Majors and Waddell, with headquarters at 10th & Main Streets, Lexington. By 1858, the government was transporting such enormous quantities of supplies to the western army posts busy in Indian encounters and in quelling Mormon uprisings, that this firm increased their equipment to thirty-five hundred wagons; they used a thousand mules, forty thousand oxen, and employed four thousand men. They operated a daily stage to Salt Lake City for passengers and mails, and in 1859 inaugurated the famous Pony Express, which was a success in accomplishing what it undertook to do, but was a failure financially and cost the firm heavily.

At the street entrance to a stairway of a three story building on the north side of Main Street between 9th and 10th, is a bronze tablet with this inscription:

SITE OF HEADQUARTERS  
OF  
GENERAL STERLING PRICE  
DURING BATTLE OF LEXINGTON  
SEPTEMBER 18, 19, 20, 1861

and on the stone gateway of the grounds of the old Masonic College (later Central College), on north 16th Street, is a similar tablet marked with these words:

SITE OF HEADQUARTERS  
OF  
COLONEL JAMES A. MULLIGAN  
DURING BATTLE OF LEXINGTON  
SEPTEMBER 18, 19, 20, 1861



THE BATTLE OF LEXINGTON





In these two cases (as in the case of the Aull Bank), not only are the sites marked, but the actual buildings are still standing and in daily use that were occupied as official headquarters for the Federal and Confederate commanders during the three-day siege of Lexington. Visible marks of the struggle may yet be found in the stone capital of one column of the court house, where a Federal cannon ball fired from the college to silence a Confederate battery near 11th and Main Streets, lodged in the stone, and is still there, a mute reminder of the grim days of 1861. The elaborate system of trenches and earthworks thrown up by the besieged Federal troops on College Hill, are still in an excellent state of preservation. The positions of various units are carefully marked, that the visitor to the battle ground may have little difficulty in visualizing the scene. A bronze tablet embedded in a concrete pillar is now in process of erection on the grounds of Wentworth Military Academy marking the position of Captain Guibor's battery during the siege.

The college building with six acre campus surrounding it, where Colonel Mulligan and his aides surrendered to General Price, has been acquired by the City of Lexington, and will be preserved as a historic spot. Similarly, the Battle Ground adjoining the college campus, containing one hundred acres overlooking the Missouri river, is owned by Lafayette County and will be cared for perpetually because of its memorial character.

The Lexington Historical Society, which has done a great work in preserving a vast amount of material bearing on early day history, has on hand, in addition to letters, papers, and books, the sword of Colonel Mulligan, a large number of sabers, guns, cannon balls, etc., that were used in the battle. The old Anderson Mansion, used as a hospital during the siege, and now the property of Lafayette County, would make an admirable museum for the display of such material. It is hoped that means can be found whereby this fine old antebellum home can be restored, equipped with these interesting reminders of a bygone day, and maintained perpetually for the enjoyment and edification of the public.

## THE BLAIRS AND FREMONT\*

BY WILLIAM E. SMITH

## PART I

*He that cuts above himself will get splinters in his eye.*

Charles W. Upham wrote of John G. Fremont in the closing pages of an eulogistic biography (1856) after he had delineated at length upon the career of Fremont as a pioneer explorer: "The course of John Charles Fremont is a pattern, and his success an encouragement to every noble mind, which, displaying sloth and ease, folly and pleasure, aspires to an honorable usefulness to be achieved by meritorious exertions."<sup>1</sup> Five years later events had shaped themselves in such a manner as to cause a Twentieth century author to reach the other extreme conclusion when he said: "Fremont certainly was the most stupendous failure of the war."<sup>2</sup> There were times in the family history of Francis Preston Blair, Sr., when the Blairs fully agreed with each of these statements. Neither of them are wholly true.

Francis Preston Blair, Sr., grew up amidst the political struggles in Kentucky when the questions of a "Relief Party," anti-Bank war, and Jackson *vs.* Clay, occupied the center of attention. He figured not inconspicuously in those stirring scenes and received the distinction of being called to Washington by "King Andrew" to serve as his pen-executive. There Blair became the confident friend of the President and served his time in the "Kitchen Cabinet." His youngest son lived under the influence and grew up in the smiles of the indulgent Jackson. His eldest son, Montgomery, was persuaded to accept an appointment at West Point where he

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\*This article is a part of a two-volume work on "The Francis Preston Blair Family in Politics," which after five years of preparation will soon be ready for publication.

<sup>1</sup>Charles W. Upham, *Life Explorations and Public Services of John Charles Fremont*, Boston, 1856, p. 354.

<sup>2</sup>David P. Dyer, *Autobiography and Reminiscences*, St. Louis, 1922, p. 92.

obtained a "military education." The father respected the judicial turn of mind of Montgomery, and always flattered himself that Frank (Francis Preston, Jr.), was a "Young Hickory." Francis P., Sr., lost his hold on the confidence of the James K. Polk wing of the Democrat party when the wily Martin Van Buren made his serious political mistake in opposing immediate annexation of Texas (1844). The Blairs were ardent admirers of Van Buren. Their loyalty cost them heavily when the father staked his reputation as an editor and politician on Van Buren's success. They were defeated by chicanery and honest souls at the Baltimore Convention (1844) where "Colo. Poke," as Jackson designated him, received the presidential nomination at the hands of the Democracy. Blair was soon forced to retire from the *Globe*, his partisan newspaper which was established in 1830, when Polk determined to have old "Father Ritchie" of the famous Richmond *Enquirer* become editor of his political organ at the capitol. The Blairs were with Van Buren on the Free-Soil band-wagon in 1848, but they returned to support Franklin Pierce for President in 1852. The Kansas-Nebraska Act was too much for their free-soil inclinations, so they joined heartily in the organization of the Republican party. Now, John C. Fremont had made a runaway marriage with Jessie Benton, daughter of Thomas Hart Benton, a long and tried friend of the Blair family. It was quite natural for F. P. Blair, Sr., to propose the adventuresome son-in-law of Benton for president in 1856. Only Mrs. Blair dissented. She pithily inquired of her husband when he returned from the Republican convention what success he hoped to attain with "this turkey-gobbler" which he had "picked up."<sup>1</sup> The defeat of the Republican party in its first campaign is a matter of record. The Fremonts and Blairs continued on the most intimate terms of friendship until September, 1861. Even the heated controversy between Wm. Carey Jones, a son-in-law of Benton, and the Blairs over what Benton was supposed to have said at his death to President Buchanan did not impair the amicable relations between the Fremonts and Blairs.

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<sup>1</sup>Fremont disliked F. P. Blair, Sr., according to Jessie Benton, but liked Mrs. Blair. She did not like Fremont, but her husband did.

Fremont, in writing to Jones, June 19, 1856, had this to say of F. P. Blair, Sr.: "In regard to Mr. Blair you are totally in error. I believe him to be a true patriot, if there is one on the Earth & he certainly is in both his public & private acts one of the most unselfish men I have ever known." These two sons-in-law were divided politically. "What you tell me of your political views," says Fremont, in the same letter, "does not surprise me, as I had already seen in our last conversation which way you were tending—but my surprise is to understand how you got where you are."<sup>4</sup> Jones was an ultra-Buchanan man while Fremont was the nominee for the presidency on the new ticket.

Montgomery Blair was Fremont's attorney. Blair had been a young lawyer in Benton's office in St. Louis. He had risen to district attorney, mayor of St. Louis, and judge in the United States court. He represented "The Pathfinder" and speculator for years. The notorious Mariposa case fell to Blair to guide through its tortuous course in the hands of "the law." He engaged John J. Crittenden of Kentucky, senator and lawyer, and long time friend and benefactor of the Blair family, to argue the case but it was Blair's advice that was followed. When Fremont asked Blair to reduce his charges for services rendered, Blair could call to the attention of Leonidas Haskell (the agent of Fremont) the fact that he had served in the successful Pescadera appeal;<sup>5</sup> that he had been the chief agent in securing the recognition of the government of Fremont's cattle claim—a service which was undertaken against the advice of Benton who thought it was a hopeless case. Smaller favors were for the Fremonts without charge.<sup>6</sup> The homes of the three Blairs were open to the Fremonts at any time, and Jessie Benton thought "Father Blair's" must be visited every time she happened to be in Washington, and always remembered when she wrote to "the Judge." It was "Judge Blair" who kept Fremont informed on politics of the East,<sup>7</sup> and of everything which was

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<sup>4</sup>Blair *Papers*.

<sup>5</sup>M. Blair to L. Haskell, Aug. 11, 1863, Blair *Papers*.

<sup>6</sup>Jessie B. Fremont to M. Blair, no date, Blair *Papers*.

<sup>7</sup>Fremont to M. Blair, Mar. 4, 1860, Blair *Papers*.

said about Fremont in the press<sup>8</sup> during the period in which Fremont was attempting to make his fortune out of his ranch and gold mines in California.

On inauguration day in 1860 Fremont assured "Judge Blair" that his mills were running in good order and beginning to pay well. His gold mines in California were opened to deliver about one hundred and forty tons of ore a day, a rate which he believed they would maintain for many years. He was trying to reduce hand labor by the use of machinery, and he was ready to begin a four-mile railway to his mines which would save him an estimated expense of two hundred dollars a day in transportation of ore. The railway was to be completed by April 1.<sup>9</sup> Prosperity, unfortunately, did not blossom for Fremont. He had not the money wherewith to work a mine and when he left California in January, 1861, he little dreamed that he would never return as the owner of his estate.

The election of Lincoln was the signal for the South to secede. The President-elect was helpless in the face of the tide of secession while the patriotic unionists fretted and fumed at the timid policy of the shackled President yet in office. The Blairs played a conspicuous part in the election of 1860. Montgomery was destined to be postmaster-general ere Lincoln met Fremont in the Astor House, New York City, when the one was headed toward Washington, the other for Europe to raise money for his mining project. The President may have thought of Fremont for a government post. If he had selected Fremont, the appointment would have pleased the Blairs. However that may be, Fremont journeyed to Europe; Montgomery received his appointment and probably accomplished more than any one postmaster who had preceded him; Frank did more than any other unionist to save Missouri to the Union; and "Father Blair" entertained the President at his beautiful estate at Silver Spring where he offered the advice of an experienced ex-journalist and politician who had reached his seventieth year.

The progress of the early events of the war found Missouri sorely in need of an energetic commander to stem the tide of

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<sup>8</sup>Fremont to M. Blair, Nov. 17, 1859, *Blair Papers*.

<sup>9</sup>Fremont to M. Blair, *Blair Papers*.

the Confederacy as it swept up the Mississippi. The Blairs failed to secure the appointment of the impetuous Yankee, Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, to the command of the western war area. Attorney-General Bates (of Missouri) opposed that, but Frank Blair did succeed in having General Harney retired from command. Decisive action on the part of Blair and Lyon during the absence of Gen. Harney easily effected the capture of Camp Jackson, a state militia camp at St. Louis. The camp was seething with disloyalty to the Union. Thousands of men flocked to the camps of the secessionists as a result of the capture of Camp Jackson. Its fall, however, struck fear in the hearts of the followers of the Governor of the State and insured St. Louis for the unionists. Lexington and Jefferson City soon fell into the hands of Lyon and Blair. The latter then cast about for a suitable commander in the West. The Blairs hit upon Fremont, the man who had captivated the minds of Americans with his western adventures. Fremont was already indebted to the Blair family for past favors; he owed Montgomery for all the legal services which had been performed for him; his wife was as one of the Blair family. The President was anxiously concerned for the border states, and since the Blairs were distinctly border-state-men in political thought and social inheritance, they found him attentive to their advice. Fremont was appointed commander of the armies then existing and those to be raised in the Mississippi Valley, especially in Missouri.

The problems which Fremont faced were significantly important. Entangled politics required tact if success were to crown his efforts. Military skill was a prime necessity. Fremont was woefully lacking in both of those qualities. The expectations of the country, of Missourians, and of the powerful Blair family, added more, if possible, to the gravity of the situation. He accepted the appointment tendered him. He did it at a sacrifice of his own personal gains; he was a volunteer, a patriot, and a man of honest intentions and sincerity of purpose.

Fremont's instructions were vague. According to his testimony before the Committee on the Conduct of the War:<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup>*Reports*, Part 3, pp. 33-34, Jan. 17, 1862.

No special object was given me in charge to do. Nor was I furnished with any particular plan of a campaign. The general discussions at Washington resulted in the understanding that the great object in view was the descent of the Mississippi, and for its accomplishment I was to raise and organize an army, and when I was ready to descend the river I was to let the President know \* \* \*.

Full discretionary powers of the amplest kind were conferred on me. Not a line of written instructions was given me.

The Department of the West was created in July, 1861. It included Illinois, Kentucky, and the loyal states west of the Mississippi to the Rockies. The new Commander conferred with Montgomery Blair (the only West Point graduate in the Cabinet), with the President, with his own friends, and, according to his *Memoir Mss.* waited several days for instructions from General Scott.<sup>11</sup> While he waited for instructions he busied himself with arranging for arms and with the organization of his staff. Time was fleeting; the President repeatedly inquired of Montgomery when Fremont would be at his command. The eyes of the country seemed to be centered on Virginia but the Confederates in Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, were making serious trouble in the West. The Blairs were provoked at Fremont's delay. Later Montgomery appeared before the Committee on the Conduct of the War and testified that:<sup>12</sup>

The President questioned me every day about his movements. I told him so often that Fremont was off or was going the next day, according to my information, that I felt mortified when allusion was made to it, and dreaded a reference to the subject. Finally, on the receipt of a dispatch from Lyon by my brother, describing the condition of his command, I felt justified in telegraphing General Fremont that he must go at once. But he remained till after Bull Run, and even then when he should have known the inspiration that would give the rebels, he traveled leisurely to St. Louis.

The Blairs wanted Fremont in Missouri, not in New York. They needed a stimulant for the wavering men and a check to the rebels. Montgomery was honest in the belief that he could do more in the East for Fremont's department than Fremont could himself. Fremont sought arms and men

<sup>11</sup>Allan Nevins, *Fremont, the West's Greatest Adventurer*, New York, 1928: II, pp. 532-535.

<sup>12</sup>Report, Part 3, pp. 154-156.

heedless of Blair's advice to hurry westward. On July 13 he begged Montgomery for arms. On the 14th he wrote Montgomery from the Astor House in New York City explaining his predicament:<sup>13</sup>

Dear Mr. Blair:

The President expressed desire to me was to organize at once the Illinois force. At a meeting with the delegation and Governor Yates [of Illinois] I learned that his force amounted to about sixteen thousand seven hundred men exclusive of a cavalry regiment which had been authorized. As you know, I applied for the arms required, and with what success. There are eight companies of cavalry making together with the regiment to be raised say sixteen thousand men. They have no arms or equipment of any kind of artillery [.] [T] there are fourteen six pounders. To this force in order the cavalry should be augmented to not less than five hundred men and the batteries increased to six, including two howitzers to each battery. . . . .

The force must be armed, and such arms as can be purchased here I intend to buy, expecting daily now the arrival of the Quartermaster for whom I applied to the Secretary. I can find here a sufficient number of sabres that are pretty good to be exchanged for an iron one. It seems to me I ought to have some general authority to proceed at once with my work by procuring in the promptest way, means to work with. At our best the time will be found very short. Perhaps you think I trouble you unnecessarily, but it is best to keep you informed and while I am discussing points with you I shall be moving along.

Yours truly [.]

But he did not move fast enough. The Blairs, like many others, wanted quick action, even more than the energetic Fremont could make, working as he was, under countless handicaps. Montgomery threatened to resign his position as postmaster-general, if the President did not immediately give succor to Fort Sumter. Only the presence of his father in an outer room adjacent to that in which the Cabinet was meeting kept Montgomery from committing the act. The father begged him to remain; the President acted. "The people of the South have no just ground of complaint against the government of the Union," wrote Montgomery. He was quite positive in the belief that "the rebellion which exists results from partisan feelings."<sup>14</sup> Governor John A. Andrews,

<sup>13</sup>Blair *Papers*.

<sup>14</sup>Ms. copy of letter to President Lincoln, Mar. 15, 1861, Blair *Papers*.





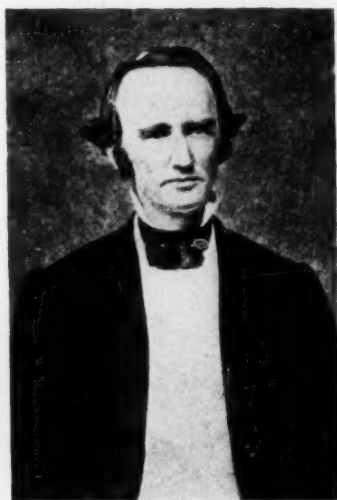
MRS. JESSIE BENTON FREMONT  
AFTER THE CIVIL WAR



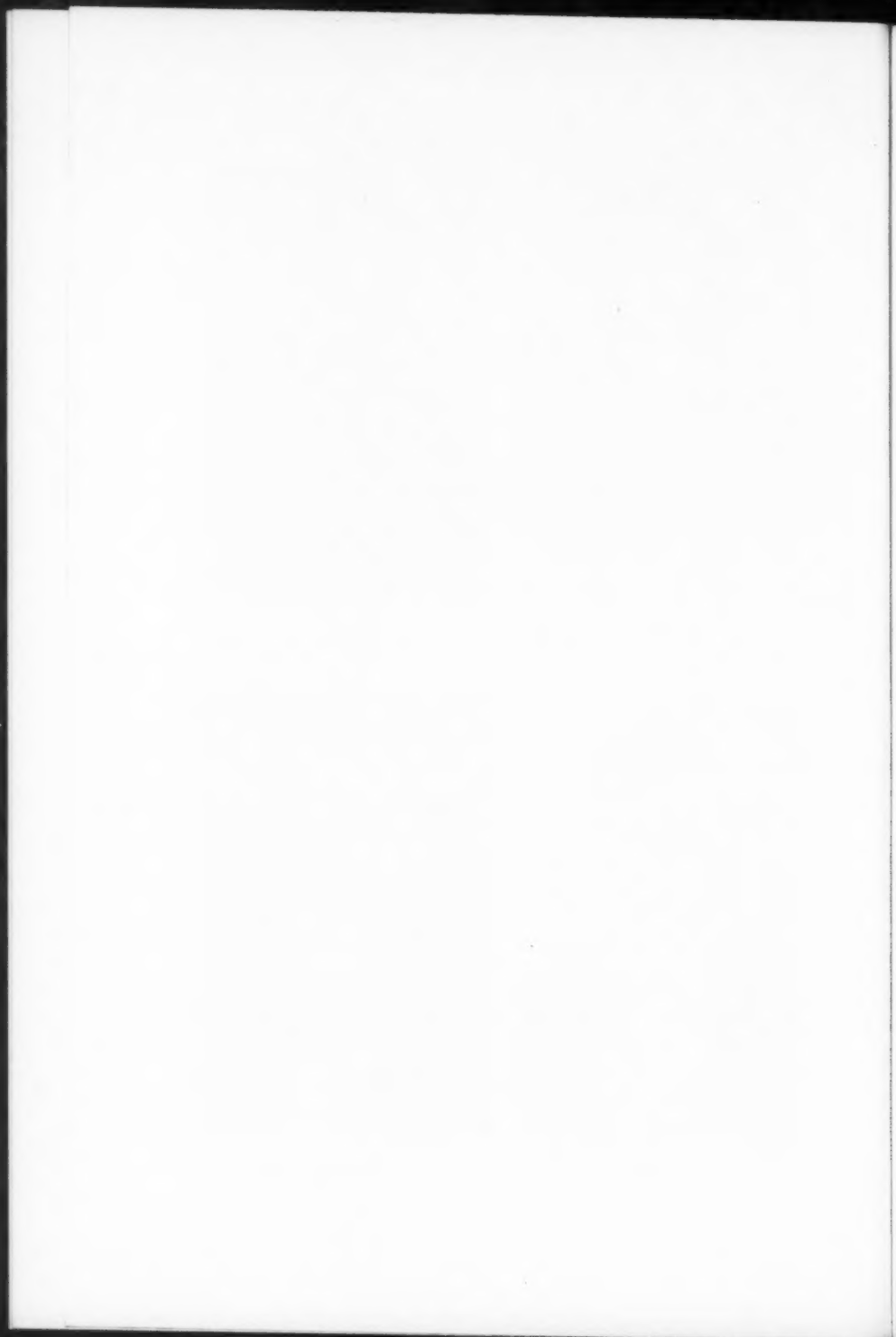
JOHN C. FREMONT AS A MAJOR-  
GENERAL IN 1861



FRANK P. BLAIR, JR.



MONTGOMERY BLAIR



who claimed that he would rather visit in the home of Blair at Silver Spring than anywhere else, wrote to Montgomery as early as May 6, 1861: "We wish to go *onward*—not to stand still."<sup>15</sup> Out in Missouri *The Daily [Mo.] Democrat*, owned and published by McKee and Fishback of St. Louis, and a strong unconditional Union paper and supporter of Frank Blair, was bewailing the failure of the administration's Fabian policy (April 5, '61). It considered the election of Mayor Taylor of St. Louis in April as a humiliating blow to the Union forces.<sup>16</sup> These editors thought the firing upon Fort Sumter by the Confederacy was an act which placed the entire responsibility of the war upon the heads of the rebellious southerners.<sup>17</sup> The situation in Missouri, said this Missouri paper, was truly deplorable. "Commerce and trade annihilated—credit trembling in the balance—confidence in the future of Missouri destroyed, and bankruptcy staring us in the face—all in consequence of feeding, fostering and encouraging the most unholy and indefensible rebellion that ever raised its impious head."<sup>18</sup> And even the conservative old lawyer, T. T. Gantt of St. Louis, *Democrat* and intimate friend of the Blair family, wanted Missouri armed and made ready to defend the Union flag though he did still hope for mediation.<sup>19</sup>

When Fremont arrived in St. Louis on July 25, 1861, to assume active command of his department he did not find rosy prospects. His reaction to the conditions there are quite well set forth in a letter of July, 1861, to Montgomery Blair.<sup>20</sup> The letter is written by Mrs. Fremont at her husband's "telling—not absolutely from dictation:"

The enemy here already occupied, & in force, points which Mr. Fremont intended holding against them. For want of arms to arm new regiments & because not a cent of their pay has been given to the others which disheartens & indisposes them to re-inlist, it is almost impossible to make head against them. He is doing the best he can without money without

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<sup>15</sup>Blair *Papers*.

<sup>16</sup>*Democrat*, April 3, 10, '61.

<sup>17</sup>*Democrat*, Apr. 13, '61.

<sup>18</sup>*Democrat*, May 2, '61.

<sup>19</sup>*Democrat*, May 3, '61.

<sup>20</sup>Blair *Papers*. No date.

arms without moral aid. This city needs a force to repress it. All the arms & well equipped troupes of Ohio & Indiana we met moving to the East.

Mr. Fremont says send anything in the shape of arms—but arms we must have. Send money, & both arms and money by the most rapid conveyance.

His English arms he says were bought for himself & begs that you will not allow them to be interrupted. His battery rifles & pistols might save the State—but it looks now as if it was intended to let it slide (that's my own).

It is also my own to say that I don't like this neglect & I look to you & to the President to see that it has not a fatal effect. Just now the Potomac is so interesting that I do not blame every care for it but don't expect miracles on the Missi.

This is very abrupt. Mr. Blow [Henry T. Blow of St. Louis] is waiting. It is odd to feel in an enemy's country here in St. Louis, but it is unmistakeably so—

With best love to all yours.

Fremont wrote in a bold hand across this letter: "Money & Arms without delay & by the quickest Conveyance."

Governor Claiborne F. Jackson had left no stone unturned to carry the State secessionward. With him had gone General Sterling Price, Senators James S. Green and Trusten Polk, ex-Senator David R. Atchison, and a group of editors and other influential men. Blair had accomplished a meritorious feat when he had frustrated the plans of the disloyalists. His "Wide-Awakes" has been drilled, armed, and used to offset the "Militia," but Franz Sigel had received a rebuff in a conflict with the rebels at Carthage. The successes of the Confederates at Bull Run and Fort Sumter made a strong appeal to the Missourians whose institutions and blood were largely southern. Many men went over to the Confederate camps but it must not be forgotten that a majority of Missourians did not desire disunion, and that during the war one hundred and ten thousand Missourians joined the Federal forces while only forty thousand entered the State Guards of Governor Jackson, or in Confederate service.<sup>21</sup> Reports of outrages against unionists came continuously into the office of the *Democrat* (May 17-26); merchants of St. Louis who were profiting in trade with the cotton South were secessionist in sentiment, and as

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<sup>21</sup>Eugene M. Violette, *A History of Missouri*, Chicago, 1918, p. 391.

late as the spring of 1862 the secessionists elected officers in the Chamber of Commerce and Mercantile Library Association. The election of rebel-minded officials in the Mercantile Library Association was done through a bolt on the part of the unionists. Frank Blair, however, was of the belief that the secessionists could not raise as many as two regiments in St. Louis.<sup>22</sup>

It cannot be said that Fremont was inactive, whatever may be said of his misguided activities and inability to breathe the spirit of organization into chaos which he had found. He did have a stupendous task ahead of him. General Lyon was at Springfield with seven or eight thousand men, poorly equipped, with inadequate transportation, and one-half of his army composed of ninety-day men whose term expired about July 15. When Fremont reached St. Louis he found letters from General Lyon begging for immediate aid. At the same time General Prentiss was threatened with a Confederate attack on Cairo. He had eight regiments, six of which were ninety-day men whose terms were expiring near the end of July. The Confederate Generals McCulloch and Polk were to move against Lyon and Prentiss, respectively. General Fremont decided to save Cairo because of its strategic value, and, consequently, ordered Lyon to fall back toward Rolla and St. Louis. General Fremont frantically telegraphed to Montgomery Blair for aid. His pleas had to be answered.<sup>23</sup>

I find it impossible now to get any attention to Missouri or western matter from the authorities here. You will have to do the best you can, and take all needful responsibility to defend and protect the people over whom you are specially set.

Two of General Fremont's commanders were thus imploring aid—men and arms, things which the General did not believe he had, things which were unobtainable from the East. He knew that he must pacify Missouri where a guerilla warfare was attracting notice, organize the straggling volunteers, find food, secure arms and clothing, obtain money, defend St. Louis and save Cairo, the key to the whole Northwest.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup>*Congressional Globe*, 37th Cong., 2nd Sess., pp. 1118-1124.

<sup>23</sup>July 26, '61. *Report of Committee on Conduct of the War*, Part 3, p. 35.

<sup>24</sup>*Report of Committee on the Conduct of the War*, Part 3, pp. 35-36.

He worked frantically at his office in the Brant house down in the heart of the City where he remained late at night and returned to his work as early as 4:30 a. m.<sup>25</sup> He appealed to the President, July 30, before setting off to save Cairo from the reported twenty thousand rebels who were presumably headed for that place. "I have found this command in disorder, nearly every county in an insurrectionary condition, and the enemy advancing in force by different points of the southern frontier. Within a circle of fifty miles around General Prentiss, there are about 12,000 of the confederate forces, and 5,000 Tennesseans, and Arkansas men, under Hardee, well armed with rifles, are advancing upon Iron-ton." He had sent forces to protect Iron-ton and the railroad, and to secure connections with Rolla. He assured the President that, if the material aid which was needed came, the enemy would be driven from Missouri. He was sorely pressed for arms. These, he was planning to buy in New York. His troops were unpaid; some of his regiments were in a state of mutiny; men were refusing to re-enlist; and the Treasurer for the United States in St. Louis had refused him \$100,000 of the \$300,000 "unappropriated" in his care. Three things were open: To let the enemy possess himself of the strong vantage points and threaten St. Louis, or to force a loan from "secession banks" in St. Louis, or to use government money in the hands of the treasury in that city. "I will neither loose the State nor permit the enemy a foot of advantage. I have infused energy and activity into the department, and there is a thorough good spirit in officers and men. This morning I will order the treasurer to deliver the money in his possession to General Andrews, and will send a force to the treasury to take the money, and will direct such payments as the exigency requires. I will hazard everything for the defence of the department you have confided to me, and I trust to you for support."<sup>26</sup> When the treasurer refused to grant the use of the money to the General he resorted to force on the assumption that he possessed the power to govern "according to the necessities of the case, without regard to restrictions."<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup>Nevins, *Fremont*, II, p. 543.

<sup>26</sup>*Report of the Committee on Conduct of the War*, Part 3, pp. 34-35.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 58.

Eight steamboats were chartered, loaded with soldiers and arms, and steamed down the Mississippi, Fremont aboard, to relieve Cairo. The General got a much needed rest and a hearty welcome. He infused new spirit in the Union troops under Gen. Prentiss, and very probably scared off the Confederate forces. On the other hand, Gen. Lyon refused to retreat from Springfield. He met superior combined forces under McCulloch and Price at Wilson's Creek. There Lyon was killed while bravely leading his troops but he had checked the advance of the invaders, August 10.

Who was responsible for Lyon's defeat and death? The friends of Fremont claimed that Gen. Lyon should have retreated according to the orders from his commander; those of Blair and Lyon censure Fremont for not re-enforcing Lyon. The enemies of Fremont add that he lacked generalship in his department. General Lyon was one of the first men to refuse to leave Southwest Missouri to its fate. Fremont had considered it the key to his position at one time. It was curiously full of loyalists. They had suffered at the hands of the central and northern parts of Missouri in politics ever since the State had entered the Union. The fall of Springfield would open a road to central Missouri and eastern Kansas along which hundreds of men might pass into the Confederacy. Just what was in Gen. Lyon's mind when he refused to heed the advice of his generals will remain untold. Frank Blair believed Fremont should have re-enforced Gen. Lyon to save him from destruction. Other Missourians believed that Gen. Lyon was sacrificed. Blair, basing his conclusions on General Fremont's statement concerning the forces under his command, claimed before Congress that only the incapacity of Fremont prevented him from effectively using the 55,693 regular troops and home guards which were subject to his orders.<sup>28</sup> The enemies of Fremont chimed in support of this argument. Blair seems to have believed that two or three regiments sent to Gen. Lyon would have turned the tide; that General Fremont should have sent the troops nearest Springfield rather than those farther away; that the danger of

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<sup>28</sup>*Cong. Globe*, 37th Cong., 2nd Sess., p. 1121.

losing the three-months men was not as real as Fremont imagined; and, that since Cairo was only a one-day sail from St. Louis, it needed less attention than was given it in the hurry and bustle to get down there.<sup>29</sup> General Fremont remained firm in the faith that had Gen. Lyon followed instructions he could have been soon efficiently sustained and a victory gained for the North. The Committee on the Conduct of the War reported after investigation that:<sup>30</sup>

He [Fremont] was peculiarly situated. The first call—that of General Lyon was pressed upon him so soon after he took command of the department, and he was compelled to act so hastily, without time for fully surveying the field before him, and ascertaining the extent of the resources at his command, that even if he failed to do all that one under circumstances might have done, still your committee can discover no cause of censure against him.

The Committee reported more than a grain of truth. General Fremont, nevertheless, stands amenable to the charges of inability to cope with the situation in Missouri. As for Lyon, the press pronounced his eulogium as a brave soldier. Frank Blair declared in Congress that he "never knew a man more devoted to the honor and integrity of the Union—so careful of its interests and so careless of himself."<sup>31</sup> General Lyon must bear with General Fremont the responsibility for the results of Wilson's Creek. The latter must bear the charge that he lost himself in details and moved too late to save a brave but disobedient general. He should have heeded the advice of the Blairs on July 25 instead of August 4. General Lyon should have listened to the advice of his generals and acted on the orders of his superior rather than risk a battle with an army so much larger than his own. His faith in the triumph of good did not save his life, nor win the desired military victory.

The Blairs did not immediately show their shock at the failure of General Fremont to save General Lyon. They, like many others, waited expectantly for future successes. Both Frank and Montgomery criticised Generals Scott and Patter-

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 1119.

<sup>30</sup>Report, Part, 3, pp. 5-6.

<sup>31</sup>*Cong. Globe*, 37th Cong., Part I, p. 57, Dec. 11, 1861.



son for the discouraging loss at Bull Run. Montgomery advised the removal of General Scott.<sup>32</sup> The General seems to have taken no umbrage at this and steadily supported Frank. Thurlow Weed, in his Albany *Evening Journal*,<sup>33</sup> however, expressed his hope that the "conceited fools who knew as much about military tactics as a donkey knows about mathematics, will stop lecturing our experienced Generals." Weed said there were four causes for the disaster at Bull Run, among which was Postmaster-General Blair's "aspersions" and persistent hostility toward General Scott and Frank Blair's assault on the General from the stump. The backfire against the Blairs now began to tell. Frank as chairman of the committee on military defense in the House of Representatives met constant opposition from Thaddeus Stevens and his ilk. Stevens was an old enemy of the Blairs, one whom Frank inherited. Frank was defeated by Galusha Grow for speaker of the House in the 37th Congress.<sup>34</sup> The German element in Missouri found General Fremont more to their liking than Frank Blair and left him in the lurch for votes. He was too conservative on the subject of emancipation. The German press and the *Daily [Mo.] Democrat* cooled toward the Blairs and warmed up to General Fremont as soon as the corrupt Justus McKinstry, General Fremont's Quartermaster-General, got his forces at work.<sup>35</sup> Blair found his political and moral influence in Missouri, and especially in St. Louis where he had been a leader, seriously endangered. Had General Fremont possessed a little tact he could have continued without a break, but he was imperious and a blunderer. His mistakes multiplied while he worked unceasingly for the cause of the Union.

General Fremont was certain that the war could be won by a descent of the Mississippi river. The President hoped that the river might be opened early in the war. The Blairs

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<sup>32</sup>M. Blair to W. O. Bartlett, Aug. 24, '61, Blair Papers.

<sup>33</sup>July 24, 29, '61.

<sup>34</sup>A. G. Riddle, *Recollections of War Times, 1860-1865*, New York, 1895, p. 31.

<sup>35</sup>Major McKinstry was Provost-Marshal when St. Louis was placed under martial law. See the *Democrat* for July, Aug., and Sept.

were of the same opinion as is shown in Frank's letter to Montgomery:<sup>36</sup>

The fact is that it has been the mistake of the war on our part ever to have contemplated a—formidable campaign against the Rebels in any other direction than the line of the Mississippi River—And the reasons for subordinating any other line to this remains as strong now as ever and it is just as gross an error to persist in the Richmond Campaign as it was last fall when I begged McClellan to stand on the defensive there and turn their flush & disperse their army by a descent of the Mississippi—If Halleck had pushed on after the evacuation of Corinth & opened the Mississippi the rebellion now would be virtually at an end. The considerations which I urged on McClellan were first the cheapness of transportation & of subsistence, the original cost of provisions for a great army are much less and the transportation of these supplies and the material of war and the army itself on the Mississippi river, to any point on it, is not one tithe of what it is out to the Camps which surrounded Washington last winter and every mile of progress beyond that doubles & quadruples the cost, until by the time Richmond is within striking it becomes impossible to sustain our army by reason of the force necessary to keep open our communications.

He argued that gunboats could be used on the Mississippi; that the river once opened would become a "secure base of operations throughout its whole length;" that the rebel "states thus divided" would "cease to send supplies to the East" and soon succumb; and that the Army of the West could flank the Army of the East to crush the secessionists. Although General Fremont's attempt to descend the river was somewhat premature, the plan was finally successfully resorted to by the North.

The proposed descent of the Mississippi lured "The General" into burning his energy for that great occasion. He called for men and more men, disciplined and well equipped; he wanted arms, horses, food, clothing, and money; he wanted attention and support at Washington; he bombarded governors and generals for one thing or another; and he unfortunately permitted his subordinates to encircle him with a rope of inefficiency which engendered distrust and suspicion in those who had called him to St. Louis. He wanted entree to French arsenals, and the good will of France. Who had caused

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<sup>36</sup>St. Louis, Dec. 6, 1862, Blair Papers.

that to be denied us? Charles F. Adams, our Minister to England, whose incapacity was too great "to comprehend the situation."<sup>37</sup> Above all, Fremont wanted the right to *demand* that his orders be obeyed whenever and wherever given. And so he wrote to Blair:<sup>38</sup>

If major Lymington, at Alleghany Arsenal, had obeyed my request to forward the Heavy Artillery lying there, immediately, part of it would have been to day in position at Girardeau & Birds Point. His delay of several days for reference to Washington might cause the loss of a post. I am as much in the field as if the cannon were thundering about my ears, as it might be within twenty-four hours.

In time of war the orders of a General commdg. a Dept. ought to be obeyed. If he issues an order or calls for aid which circumstances do not justify, he may be held responsible for the consequences but he should be obeyed, by every subordinate to whom he issues an order.

Across the margin of the above letter is written: "It concerns the public interest that such a Genl. order be given."

Montgomery Blair must have dreamed of hunting for troops to be sent to Fremont. Two days after Gen. Lyon had fallen Gen. Fremont again addressed a note to Blair beseeching him for troops.<sup>39</sup>

The Confederates are taking up ground on the left bank of the Mississippi above New Madrid.

In my movements against them I wish to use Kentucky troops and telegraphed to the Department to ask that any regiments from that State which should be offered might be accepted and ordered to report to me. I have been informed by a gentleman from Ohio that 16 have been or will be offered to the President. If they are will you aid me to have them? I don't like to trust to telegraph or letter what I want to do and I have to ask you & trust to my judgment for its being right. I have also telegraphed to day to the War Department asking for the Groesbeck German Regt (35th Ohio) now at Camp Denison ordered to me.

I am working here right up to my full capacity and although it is rough the ship rides tolerably easy, with regards to all, expecting Col. Blair [.]

He seems to have believed that there existed an insufficient supply of horses and arms in the United States. He was right in the latter instance. In the first case, Fremont

<sup>37</sup>Fremont to M. Blair, A note in the Blair Papers. No date.

<sup>38</sup>Fremont to M. Blair, St. Louis, Aug. 8, '61, Blair Papers.

<sup>39</sup>Blair Papers.

proposed to have his old associate and friend, Billings of California, buy horses in Canada. The arms he wanted from France. While begging Montgomery Blair to intercede in his behalf with the President he gave vent to his anger at Adams:<sup>40</sup>

Don't do any thing with that cold blooded and mean and selfish man Adams. I do most certainly believe that to day he would not risk his private fortune if thereby he could stop this war and restore peace to his country—Fortunately few of his countrymen are like him. . . .

Montgomery Blair was a prompt interceder. He devoted as much of his time to the Missouri situation as his time and duties permitted. Once he persuaded the Secretary of the Treasury to send to Gen. Fremont the last dollar in the Treasury. He scolded and growled at delays.<sup>41</sup> No doubt can for a moment be cast upon his loyalty and support. His heart was in the western cause for several reasons. He had made his money and reputation in Missouri; his brother's fortunes were to rise or fall there. He may have had St. Louis in view as a prospective city to which to send his sons to begin their careers. His son Gist was sent later to study with T. T. Gantt and begin the practice of law under the guidance of the old veteran lawyer. The Union party in Missouri owed its success to Frank Blair. He was constantly urging action in behalf of the Department of the West. The Blairs had the ear of the Quartermaster-General at Washington for he was the brother-in-law of Montgomery.<sup>42</sup>

General Meigs, however, could not control the Secretary of War, nor did he care to do so in the case of General Fremont's attempt to buy Canadian horses at an extra cost of \$30,000 a regiment. A telegram to St. Louis stopped the transaction. It was sent to a subordinate and justly raised Fremont's ire. The telegram stated that the money should be spent in the United States. Horses were being supplied to the government at Quincy, Illinois, at \$96 a head which was a saving of \$30 apiece, as compared with what General Fremont proposed to pay abroad. General Meigs informed

<sup>40</sup>Fremont to M. Blair, Aug. 19, 1861, *Blair Papers*.

<sup>41</sup>*Report of Committee on the Conduct of the War*, Part 3, pp. 154-156.

<sup>42</sup>General Montgomery C. Meigs and Montgomery Blair married daughters of Senator Levi Woodbury.

General Fremont that "we need all the money the Government can raise & while not stinting the service should not be extravagant." Anyone who is familiar with the financial history of the Civil war knows how difficult it was for the Government to pay its bills. The Quartermaster-General was quite right, but General Fremont resentfully wrote to Montgomery Blair the day he received the telegram:<sup>43</sup>

Quartermaster Jarnley brought me this morning a dispatch to himself from General Meigs informing him that the Secretary of War disapproved a purchase of horses ordered by me, and still farther going to impute to me a disposition to extravagance in my expenditures here. If there should be here any act of mine wrong enough to merit the censure of the Administration and grave enough to justify them in making it, I think that it should be made to me directly and not through the medium of an inferior to one his subordinate who is under my command. Such a course is intolerable not because it seriously impairs my efficiency by lessening the respect in which my conduct is to be held by the officers of my command and also by the discouragement it inflicts on myself. To give full efficiency to my acts as one here should be able to suppose a possibility of my ordinary administrative acts, or indeed of any other, being questioned. I have not written to General Meigs judging it better to ask the attention of the President to this want of official courtesy. I am not only willing but I am happy to devote my best energies to the service of the country & the President. But I trust that he will at once put his foot upon any attempt to impair my usefulness or cause me mortification in the discharge of my duties here. I trouble you often—will you allow me to ask that you acquaint the President with this occurrence and oblige.

It was hard for General Fremont, like many others, to realize that an organization for war was developing at Washington. The President was forced to depend on Cabinet officials and other subordinates to help carry the load. It was extremely unfortunate that the Administration thought all available forces must be drawn to the East to win the war. It was more than vexing to the Department in the West. General Fremont expected unstinted support from his friends and from the President. He made the egregious blunder in the expectation that Frank Blair would condone the introduction of "foreigners" in St. Louis to profit through appointments to the army, or to secure the contracts for the fortification of St.

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<sup>43</sup>Blair Papers, Aug. 21, '61.

Louis, or to contract for the purchase and sale of supplies. There were many able friends of Blair who wished to have an equal opportunity, or better, with the "foreigners" to profit in whatever might be offered. They had labored to save the State for the Union and were indignant at the loss which the appointments and contracts passed to others entailed upon St. Louisans.

The friends of Blair hailed with confidence the arrival of Fremont on July 25. The German band led by Col. Kallman serenaded "The General" when he arrived. The *Democrat* announced that delays and "red tape" were things of the past. Here was the man who would cut the Gordian knot of Missouri's difficulties.<sup>44</sup> It extolled the virtues of Generals Lyon and Fremont through July and August while the name of Blair became more and more conspicuously absent from its pages. The change was almost abrupt and very noticeable. In May, Blair was the power in unionist politics in Missouri and his case opened "rich with power and promise at Washington."<sup>45</sup> The power of Blair in Missouri waned with the advent of General Fremont. Early in August the *Democrat* explained to its five thousand daily readers that General Fremont's "remarkable traits of character and mind," his habits and tastes for work, could be favorably compared with those of the noted Von Humboldt and the great Duke of Wellington. The General had not been in St. Louis twenty-four hours before the great "Northwest woke as from a slumber."<sup>46</sup> Losses and failures in the West were the results of the lethargy of men at Washington. If the War Department, declared this Fremont organ, "is to fiddle and fool away its time with two or three thousand men, and drawn battles and protracted campaigns, and that everlasting buying and selling of army stores, which rots the patriotism of the land and stinks from N. Y. to St. Louis, and *no where more loudly than in St. Louis*, we can tell the President the war will be hopeless."<sup>47</sup> It thus may be seen that while the President and

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<sup>44</sup>The *Democrat*, July 26, '61.

<sup>45</sup>Springfield (Mass.) *Daily Republican*, May 25, '61.

<sup>46</sup>*Democrat*, Aug. 24, '61.

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.*, Aug. 20, '61.

the Blairs were anxiously expecting General Fremont to win a victory his organ was placing the blame for failures squarely on the administration.

Frank Blair soon became disgusted with the apparent ostentation at General Fremont's "Court." Orderlies and foreign officials with high-sounding names to designate their position were out of harmony with western ideals. Frank's feelings about the invasion of General Fremont's friends are evinced in a note to Montgomery:<sup>48</sup>

Fremont has authorized that notorious blackguard & ruffian & felon Billy Mulligan to raise a number of his own class of ruffians in the City of New York & bring them out here as a Provost Marshal General—I want you to stop this scheme. I received information of this matter from George Wilkes of New York the Editor of the sporting paper in that City. I wish you would have the order to stop this made out & sent to New York through Wilkes.

It has been often stated that Blair changed from a friend to an enemy of General Fremont over the subject of contracts. It is true that Blair wanted the St. Louisans to have them. Blair repeatedly asserted that he never asked for a contract of "The General" that was denied him, although General Fremont testified that a refusal of a contract caused the trouble between the two men. This particular contract to which General Fremont referred was one which Major McKinstry declined to grant. It would have given the right to two friends of Blair to supply clothing and other equipment to forty thousand men. General Fremont did not believe that he needed so much clothing at once and was not in favor of the contract, though he did sign it. This contract incident happened about the time friendly relations were severed between the two men. Col. I. C. Woods testified that Blair was free to interview Fremont at all times, and that relations between them were cordial. He was on intimate terms with Blair and had an opportunity to know what Blair was thinking. He distinctly says that Blair was becoming dissatisfied with Gen. Fremont before McKinstry refused to agree to the clothing contract.<sup>49</sup> The friends from California who enjoyed

<sup>48</sup>Blair Papers. No date.

<sup>49</sup>Report of Committee on the Conduct of the War, Part 2, p. 1829; Part 3, pp. 75-76, 176-178, 210-211.



Fremont's favors were subjects of Blair's hatred. These were the men whom Blair said "settled down" in St. Louis "like obscene birds of prey." Their enjoyment of "special confidence and favor" was a notorious fact. The statement that contracts were the sole cause of friction is not tenable.

The primary cause for a break in the friendly relations between Blair and Fremont was nothing less than "prestige," or leadership. St. Louis was not large enough to hold the two men. But there were other causes. Blair considered the fortification of St. Louis at great expense to the government a useless project. He fully agreed with Fremont that the importance of the city to the Union was incalculable. They differed in respect to the danger of it being captured by the Confederates. Blair minimized the danger while Fremont emphasized protection against a probable attack. The former was correct in questioning the cost and methods of construction of the fortifications, although the latter was probably excusable for his action in the case because of the circumstances. Furthermore, General Fremont allowed Maj. McKinstry, a man whom Blair considered to be the worst and most corrupt of all of the General's officials, to suppress what he considered undesirable newspapers. Many of these papers deserved suppression according to military law. Order 96 denied circulation in St. Louis to the *New York News*, *Day Book*, *Journal of Commerce*, *Freeman's Journal*, and the *Brooklyn Eagle*.<sup>50</sup> The *St. Louis Republican* was decidedly southern in its sentiment. It claimed a daily circulation of seven thousand. Since its influence was too strong to be ignored, Maj. McKinstry coddled it into a tolerated support of General Fremont. The unpardonable blunder on the part of General Fremont was to permit Maj. McKinstry to suppress the *St. Louis Evening News*. It was strictly a Blair-Unionist paper, published by very close friends of Blair. It owed its existence to the moral, financial, and political support of Blair. This little paper of approximately two thousand readers consumed a large portion of Blair's money and time. His wife, Appoline, labored to save it from destruction while

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<sup>50</sup>*Democrat*, Aug. 29, '61.



her husband was leading troops to Atlanta and Savannah. Its policy was unionist, conservative, devoted to Lincoln, and anti-Fremont by the last of August. The editors strictured General Fremont on the "Fall of Lexington," paid their penalty by imprisonment for a few hours, and saw their paper suppressed. The *Democrat*, now staunchly a Gen. Fremont organ, called the objectors to the suppression program "weak-minded citizens" who pitifully whined over the "suppression of the treason sheets."

"Father Blair," who had done much toward the organization of the Republican party and had labored to elect Fremont president in 1856, died (1876) believing that his son Frank (died, 1875) was of presidential timber. He had expected Fremont to seek the advice of Frank. The Blairs usually worked as one man. When Frank complained of General Fremont's employment of the "vultures" from California the elder Blair suggested in an irritating letter to the Commander that there should be a "copartnership in the West." The Blairs and Fremont could be mutually helpful; that was always "Father Blair's" program. So he wrote: "I shall expect you to exert your utmost influence to carry my points, and now to begin, I want to have Frank made a militia major-general for the State of Missouri. This, I presume, Gov. Gamble can do, and as Major-General Frost nipped his military honors in the bud, by turning traitor and absconding with Jackson, it would seem but a completion of what was gained in substituting Gamble for the abdicating governor, to make Frank, as the military man of the State, take the position deserted by Gen. Frost."<sup>51</sup> Frank, who had refused a generalship offered by Lincoln, had no commission, but now desired one. General Fremont replied in a letter to "the Judge:"<sup>52</sup>

Frank's regiment will be a brigade, and a fit command for a general of artillery. I urged him several times to accept high rank and go into the war, but he does not like to lose his position in Congress. I think he is wrong, but we all set different values on the same thing.

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<sup>51</sup>Nevins, p. 577.

<sup>52</sup>Report of Commission on Conduct of War, Part 3, p. 185.

Frank still had no commission when the break between the two men came. He could not accept a generalship from the President and hold his seat in Congress where the President soon needed him to defend his policy.

In the next place many St. Louisans were disappointed in Fremont as a general. The hand of fate seemed to be working against him, as is interestingly told by Professor Allan Nevins in *Fremont, The West's Greatest Adventurer*. Loyal Missourians and unionists elsewhere wanted quick action and victory. The countless inconveniences, lack of equipment, untrained men, and harrasing rebels scattered throughout the State, were lost sight of, in the cry for success. The self-confident and independent spirited westerners were strong believers in equality. They were opposed to show, pomp, and "foreigners." They expected face-to-face conversations with their Commander about anything that might pertain to themselves, the State, or the Nation. General Fremont became so engrossed in a multiplicity of details that his tireless energy could find no time to gratify all those who sought an audience with him. He was ensconced in his office in the spacious Brant house where callers were provoked at the delay and questions asked of them as they passed a string of orderlies on their way from the basement to "The General's" office. Many were turned away disappointed and disgusted men. They had expected a people's general just as the Jacksonian democrats expected a people's president, and they failed to find him in the man whom they had affectionately called "The Pathfinder."

The inability of citizens and officers to obtain interviews readily at the Brant house has been often overdrawn. But there were enough instances to cause serious criticism. A letter signed by "Aaron" which was published in the *Democrat* (Aug. 31, '61), complains of too many secretaries at headquarters. Dyer records that Stevenson, an officer of Fremont's, told him that he "came to St. Louis from Rolla to urge upon Fremont the importance of ordering his command to Springfield, but it was not until the second day after his arrival that he could get by the guards into Fremont's room."

After this loss of precious time he received no encouragement to go save Gen. Lyon.<sup>53</sup>

Four days after the battle at Wilson's Creek, Wm. F. Broadhead of St. Charles, wrote to his brother, James, at St. Louis:<sup>54</sup>

There is considerable discontent here among Union men at the apparent inactivity of the Govmt & military authorities in the west—They cannot see why the Govmt forces always have to fight the disunion forces with immense odds against them—especially when we have more men & money than they. The failure to re-inforce Gen. Lyon's command in time has produced considerable distrust here. I hope Gen. Fremont will from this time put a different face upon affairs, and that no other brave General will be sacrificed to the tardiness of the military authorities.

The friends of General Fremont were not derelict in their defense of him. Editorials in St. Louis papers and in the North were plentiful in his favor, especially after he issued his order of emancipation. The opposition circulated stories of his extravagance. For instance, they cited the cost of the Brant house. The cost did appear large, but six thousand dollars, the rental fee, was hardly as much as might have been paid had the officers been scattered in different buildings.<sup>55</sup> The house was centrally located and convenient (it was the property of a cousin of Mrs. Fremont. This gave room for talk of family graft). Here, said Fremont, every man who sought audience had his turn. Cases concerning the Department were first considered. Some men may have had to wait a week.<sup>56</sup> Col. Woods thought Fremont had to exclude many men for "everybody went to headquarters." A corps of men were necessary to look after the volunteers, enlisters, and those who were returning. He believed that Fremont was not exclusive enough.<sup>57</sup> Col. Chester Harding testified that General Fremont was neither idle nor ostentatious, and needed his orderlies to prevent the people from "rushing up stairs" to the main office.<sup>58</sup> On the other hand,

<sup>53</sup>Dyer, p. 93.

<sup>54</sup>James O. Broadhead was long time close friend of the Blairs. Broadhead *Papers*, Aug. 14, '61. Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

<sup>55</sup>*Report of Com. on Conduct of War, Part 2*, p. 69.

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 204-205.

<sup>58</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 254-263.

L. Hunton, who was requested by John J. Crittenden to collect an overdue retained fee, found Fremont much over-guarded as late as November 14, 1861.<sup>59</sup> Hunton was prejudiced against General Fremont as his letters indicate, yet they record some interesting facts:

I received, yesterday, your letter together with that inclosed to Genl Fremont, and within the same hour repaired to his Quarters—passing between two sentinels and under crossed bayonets I was admitted into the Basement where I found myself in the Company of his Janizaries[.] I was told in imperfect English that I could only see "The General" by sending my card through Capt. Howard; to this I demurred, in as much as my business was not of a military nature, but nevertheless it was stated that my Card must be taken to Capt. H. I yielded. Capt. H. could not be found, and my card was returned.

I then addressed to Fremont a note, stating that I had the honor to call on him for the purpose of delivering, in person, a letter from you to him—My note and card were sent to him, not through the military channels, but by the hands of an old family servant of Col Brants who was in the service of Genl Fremont, and with this contraband I had the good fortune to be acquainted—In a few minutes, he returned, informing me that the General had read my note and "begged to be excused," wherefore I retired.

Frank Blair thought it ridiculous that Gen. Fremont should have so many orderlies and guards. The idea of a man having a bodyguard when he went into the City of St. Louis was, in Blair's estimation, preposterous. He had faced more than one gun aimed at him by his enemies. Even his foes recognized him as a fearless man. He expected "The Pathfinder" to live up to his record in the west. The man who dared to risk the capture of Camp Jackson and follow the impetuous Lyon was not long in finding fault with General Fremont. When General John M. Schofield returned from the bloody field at Wilson's Creek he and Blair went to report to General Fremont. They found Wilson's Creek a dead issue; the thing uppermost in the General's mind was the plan to descend the Mississippi.<sup>60</sup> Blair had made up his mind:

As soon as the explanation was ended, Col Blair and I took our leave, making our exit through the basement door through which we entered.

<sup>59</sup>John J. Crittenden *Papers*. Hunton to Crittenden. Library of Congress.

<sup>60</sup>John M. Schofield, *Forty-Six Years in The Army*, New York, 1897, p. 48 ff.

We walked down the street for sometime in silence. Then Blair turned to me and said: "Well, what do you think of him?" I replied in words rather too strong to repeat in print, to the effect that my opinion as to his wisdom was the same as it always had been. Blair said: "I have been suspecting that for some time."

The Pathfinder was "unfit for that command." That was Blair's verdict. He sat down to hastily write to his brother on affairs in Missouri. Things looked very bad in the northern part of the State. To play safe the letter was sent by Judge H. R. Gamble who was on his way to Washington. At the same time the *Democrat* was harping on the sluggishness of the administration. Four days before General Fremont wrote his notorious order of emancipation of slaves, the *Democrat* irritated the conservatives by deploring their "discordant howl" over their "imagined disease of freedom of the press" and kindly told them they were "simply making consummate asses of themselves."<sup>61</sup> Three days before the drafting of the proclamation for the emancipation of slaves in rebel hands in Missouri, the same paper spoke highly of Col. Blair's regiment, "The Gallant Missouri First," but it gave the honor and credit for its efficiency to Col. Andrews. One day before the proclamation was written, the *Democrat* eulogized Lyon as a man who had been of "great directness, simplicity and geniality of manner," a man of "high and pure" purpose, farseeing and philosophical, a man of actual realities. Nothing for Blair. General Fremont rose early on the morning of August 30. At dawn he called for Edward Davis of Philadelphia to come to hear him read the draft of his emancipation order "that first gave freedom to the slaves of rebels, and which he had thought out and written in the hours taken from his brief resting time."<sup>62</sup> Mrs. Fremont had found him at his desk. "I want you two, but no others," said the General. He had risen to the occasion as he saw it, to make the decisive stroke to clear Missouri of the rebels who infested her. The Order was published to the world in the *Democrat* on August 31. Editors McKee and Fishback called the proclamation the "most important document which has yet appeared in the

<sup>61</sup>*Democrat*, Aug. 26, '61.

<sup>62</sup>Nevins, pp. 563-564.

progress of the war," and begged for it the support of "every faithful man, by every word and deed."

The next day Blair wrote a long and deliberate letter to his brother, the postmaster general. Affairs were growing quite alarming in Missouri. Frank prayed for just "one hour of our dead Lyon." General Fremont had refused to heed his reports, or of others, save his own "prevaricating officers." Men were coming to hold Fremont responsible for the death of Lyon. "I could not think, when I first returned here [from Washington,] that any part of the blame could rest with him, but my observations since have shaken my faith to the very foundation." He had found a want of discipline in the camps; and upon remonstrating with Fremont about it, the latter had said it was too early to be exacting with the troops. He believed that he and Montgomery were fully responsible for the appointment of Fremont, and therefore, he should speak out. "My decided opinion is that he [Fremont] should be relieved of his command and a man of ability put in his place." But "if the government knows more of his plans than I know—if you are satisfied with them—then you can burn this paper and say that I am an *alarmist*; you know, however, that I am not. No man has been more hopeful and confident than I have been up to within a few days past." It was an undisputed fact, he thought, that Fremont had not taken the proper steps to meet the enemy; and either he or the government was responsible for inaction. He would write again soon—and would be happy if his confidence in Fremont was restored.<sup>63</sup>

#### THE BLAIRS AND FREMONT IN MISSOURI

#### PART II

*Friendship rises but with fortune and sets when men go downward.*

General Fremont's emancipation order for freeing the slaves in the hands of the rebels in Missouri was not the cause for a break between him and Frank Blair. It merely added weight in the scale against the General. The *Democrat*,

<sup>63</sup>New York Evening Post, Oct. 9, '61.

now General Fremont's mouthpiece, was too radical for Blair. It refused to recognize his ability or his valuable work in saving Missouri. The editors lauded General Fremont, lambasted the Secretary of War, denounced the editor of the *Republican* as a liar and traitor, called for drastic action against the rebels, supported immediate emancipation, and held the officials at Washington responsible for any failures in Missouri (Aug. 15 to Sept. 13, '61). The Blairs supported the Lincoln program. They were concerned about the border states, especially Kentucky. They, as constitutional unionists, stood by the President when he changed General Fremont's emancipation order. At heart Frank Blair agreed with the General on emancipation, but he believed that the time chosen to issue it was inopportune. The Blairs had been gradual emancipationists and colonizationists for many years. The unexpected proclamation of August 30 threw a bomb into the camp of the conservatives and loyal border-states men.

The General's order appealed to the liberty loving Germans in St. Louis, upon whom Blair had depended to keep him as an administration Republican in Congress. General Fremont threatened, with his radicalism, to capture that element. He now gave hope to the abolitionists and radicals. The New York *Evening Post* editorially declared that "Mr. Fremont has done what the government ought to have done from the beginning. War is war." It "hits the mind of the people in precisely the right spot."<sup>64</sup> The Cincinnati *Gazette* quoted Andrew Johnson as saying: "A man who will fight against the Union shouldn't be allowed to own a dollar's worth;"<sup>65</sup> and *Harper's Weekly* pronounced it the "beginning of the end."<sup>66</sup>

Careful evaluation of facts leads to the conclusion that the explosion which occurred between the Blairs and Fremonts in September, 1861, was a result of the hasty action of Frank Blair and Jessie Benton Fremont. It is quite probable that had Mrs. Fremont been a quiet soul Montgomery Blair would have succeeded in his efforts to smother the blaze. But she

<sup>64</sup>*Evening Post*, Sept. 4, '61.

<sup>65</sup>Quoted in *Evening Post*, Sept. 7, '61.

<sup>66</sup>Quoted in the *Democrat*, Sept. 10, '61.



possessed the vigor and bitterness of her father when her husband's ability was questioned. Frank sometimes lost control of his temper. These two friends joined by Fremont began a quarrel that was to end disastrously for all of them.

The public had unmistakable news of the quarrel between the Fremonts and Blair when the President dispatched Montgomery, General Meigs, and General David Hunter, to St. Louis, to investigate and give General Fremont friendly advice. "General Fremont," wrote the patient President, "needs assistance which it is difficult to give him. He is losing the confidence of men near him, whose support any man in his position must have to be successful." The announcement that Montgomery had gone to St. Louis to arrange for the Overland Mail was discountenanced by popular opinion. The public was of the opinion that the government was dissatisfied with the General. The *Democrat* came to his assistance immediately, characterizing his regime as one marked by decision and "determined energy, conjoined with caution and kindness." The investigators arrived in St. Louis, September 12. Interviews with Frank and his friends placed General Fremont at a disadvantage. Frank had wrongly made up his mind that the General was a mere trifler. The General now saw the "beginning of the end." His paper acknowledged that rumors had it that Montgomery and Gen. Meigs were invested with "plenipotentiary powers, and at any moment" might "drop the head of the great Pathfinder into a hand basket and pass it around for the inspection of admiring friends." It called for a more vigorous prosecution of the war; there had been too much temporizing; the people had unanimously accepted the General's order as being the "true interpretation of our relation to the slaveholders in rebellion against the Government;"<sup>67</sup> the spell of Fremont's name had thrilled the freemen of the West. "Let us then stand by the man who seems to be raised up for the terrible crisis that is upon us. Let the breath of complaint be hushed, or utterly consumed by the glow of an unselfish patriotism."<sup>68</sup> Montgomery gave an unfavorable report of

<sup>67</sup>Quoted from the *New York Tribune* by the *Democrat*.

<sup>68</sup>*Democrat*, Sept. 16, '61.



Fremont, but not before Mrs. Fremont had given the Blairs and Lincoln a piece of her mind.

Mrs. Fremont reached Washington, September 11, after a journey of three days. She was tired and worn out when she lodged at the Willard where she met friends from New York. She could not now go to the home of the Blairs. An interview with the President gave her an opportunity to demand an explanation of the why of Montgomery's trip to Missouri. She was hurt over the result and the President's patience was severely taxed by her. She explained that the Blairs were enemies of Fremont. She argued the political expediency of the Emancipation Order of August 30, while the President opposed the introduction of emancipation into the controversy. She was refused copies of Frank Blair's letters, which she demanded, on the ground that they were private correspondence. Lincoln assured her that Montgomery was not sent to Missouri as an enemy of Fremont but as a friend to confer and advise with him.

Old "Father Blair" was in Washington. He was often there now, and Mrs. Blair, as usual, saw that their estate at Silver Spring went along regularly during the absence of her husband. The day following Mrs. Fremont's interview with the President, Blair, Sr., came to the Willard and told her many things. The old gentleman was much perturbed and angered at her interference, according to her report. She had always been "Jessie" to him—a child of his friend Benton of Jackson's day. His home had been gladdened by her appearance so many times that he talked to her as if she were his own child. Now, however, she was angry; she was the impulsive, energetic Mrs. Fremont who believed that her husband had been insulted and outraged. Blair wanted to know why she had not permitted Montgomery to "manage things."<sup>69</sup> She was in no mood to be managed. A cipher telegram was sent to her husband to warn him against any pretended "friendship" by Montgomery. Fremont demanded of Lincoln by telegram copies of Frank's letters. Upon her return to St. Louis she ended the attempts of the Postmaster General to

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<sup>69</sup>Nevins, p. 581 ff.

change the course of Fremont. She refused to speak to Montgomery then and ever afterward. She had thus rebuffed an erstwhile friend who could have at least taved off the dismissal of her husband.

When Montgomery left for Washington the Fremonts clapped Frank Blair in jail for insubordination. The arrest caused much excitement in the city and profound astonishment abroad. The *Democrat* acknowledged that the arrest was embarrassing (Sept. 17, '61). Schuyler Colfax who claimed family friendship with the Blairs passed his judgment on affairs in Missouri whenever possible. He expressed his opinion that while he was a friend to the prisoner he knew Fremont to be the right man for the command.<sup>70</sup> The arrest of Frank stirred Montgomery into a telegraph to Fremont.<sup>71</sup> The last sentence in this telegram is very different to that which Fremont published as the one which he received. Montgomery refers to this clause later as if he had actually sent the telegram as it is here given:

I will send Frank's letter. It is not unfriendly, release him. This is no time for strife except with the enemies of the Country.

Fremont offered to release Blair. The latter refused for he preferred to have a trial at which he hoped to see his charges sifted. Blair addressed a letter to the *Democrat* through the columns of the *Republican* in which he accused the *Democrat* of prevarication and unfairness, and asserted that he had no personal quarrel with the General.<sup>72</sup> Charges were then preferred against Blair. He was accused of insubordination and conduct "unbecoming an officer and a gentleman;" of writing a letter to Montgomery, September 1, in which General Fremont's personal and official character was assailed; of attempting to effect the removal of his commanding officer; and, of writing a letter to the *Democrat* stating that General Fremont had never denied Blair a contract for his friends.<sup>73</sup> The *Democrat* questioned the legality of the arrest in an

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<sup>70</sup>New York Evening Post, Sept. 28, '61.

<sup>71</sup>Blair Papers.

<sup>72</sup>N. Y. Evening Post, Sept. 26, '61.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., Oct. 9.

intriguing manner (Sept. 17, '61). The passage in Blair's letter to the *Democrat* which seemed to sting Fremont most was to the effect that Blair did not shrink from the "pompous threats which appeared in your columns, but whose unfamiliar garb betrays another origin [Fremont]." <sup>74</sup>

Montgomery secured the release of Frank. The former, however, had given up hope of compromise, and now began an offensive and defensive campaign against General Fremont. The Blair version may be seen in the Blair letters. Montgomery's desire for peace is expressed in a letter to General Fremont, of September 20, 1861:

The telegraph sent by you yesterday to the President saying I would send you the enclosed—I added that the letter was not unfriendly & I do not think it would be so regarded by the public. [He refers to the letter of September 1]. But as I am aware that men do not readily suppose that others honestly change their opinions of their ability & that my relations to the writer do not admit of any profitable discussion of his motives with you I do not propose to do so—But as I travelled back from St. Louis reflecting on the subject feeling that in this as in all such cases that to pursue such a controversy especially at this time could benefit no one but the common enemies of the country, I thought I might without misunderstanding venture on the suggestion made in my dispatch of yesterday to the effect that this controversy should cease for public reasons. In conclusion I will add that whilst I do not know what the President may decide, I can say with truth that his determination shall not be influenced by any consideration for the Blairs.

Frank, arrested and confined to the barracks, was humiliated, angry, resentful, and determined to see through the quarrel which he had begun. An acquaintance with his personal history is an assurance of the success which Fremont might have had in "handling" Frank had he been politic. Mrs. Fremont was now an uncompromising enemy and Frank was determined to be rid of Fremont. Frank sat down to claim a promise from Governor Dennison, explaining the situation in Missouri as he saw it: <sup>75</sup>

—You have doubtless seen the newspaper accounts of the controversy between Genl Fremont and myself, but you have seen but one side of it, and that the one which Jessie and John have chosen to give. The News-

<sup>74</sup>*Democrat*, Sept. 18, '61.

<sup>75</sup>*Blair Papers*, Sept. 19, '61.

paper Press in this City have been subsidized through the Quarter Master here—I know and can prove that the Editors of both of the principal papers here, the Democrat and Republican denounced him bitterly in private to their confidential friends one week before this controversy opened. Since then however, they have both been seen in earnest and close consultation with the Quarter Master, Major McKinstry, and that the articles which have appeared on this question were dictated by him, and their insertion secured by the power of contracts. The dispatches sent by the correspondents of the N. Y. Press here were written in the Q. Master's Office, and sent over the wires from that office. The prevalence of Martial Law here and the official patronage of the Department deters the Press from giving any but the one side of this question, although the popular feeling and especially of those who are acquainted with his conduct, is clearly and emphatically opposed to the course of Fremont. The impression which he and his strikers have diligently sought to make, that the question between us is a personal one, is utterly false. I had no private grief against him up to the time when the controversy broke out publicly. Our personal relations were as cordial as they have ever been. He had never failed to oblige me in any and every personal unkindness towards him. The difficulty is one solely appertaining to his public course. I am convinced that he is incompetent for the position.

He sacrificed Lyon when he had abundant means to reinforce him, and ample knowledge of the necessity for such reinforcement. In sacrificing Lyon he lost the whole State and with ample power and abundant troops at his command he has done nothing until forced to make an effort, by my complaints to the Government, to relieve the State, but permitted the enemy to ravage and desolate it from end to end for a full month. I have protested again and again in vain to him against this conduct, but he has been so completely occupied with his body guard, with empty displays, with his affectation of regal state, with every conceivable trifle, and worse than all, with the distribution of contracts to worthless and corrupt hangers-on from California and elsewhere, that he has had no time and no inclination even if he had the capacity to grapple with the difficulties which his own incompetency first brought upon us. This is my quarrel with him. I made it with the greatest possible reluctance, and with a clear understanding of what I had to contend against, but from a sense of public duty, I mean to fight it relentlessly to the end. I ask that the case shall not be prejudiced by the country, and that the N. Y. Press will not allow itself to be made the vehicle of slander emanating from Fremont, through their correspondents whom he has subsidized against me. I am conscious that I have undertaken a task of great difficulty with a sincere desire to promote the public interest, and that at least I am entitled to a fair hearing and a candid judgment. If I am wrong and he is right, I shall not repine, if the country sustains him. I want him sustained however upon the merits of the case, and not upon the false issues which he has raised. In regard to the slave Proclamation, I agree with him and not with those who assailed him, my only objection being that it was made

when he had no power to enforce it and not made six weeks sooner when he had the power to enforce it throughout the State. When it was made, it was a mere *brutum fulmen*, tending to exasperate those who had ample power of retaliation, and who have since used that power of retaliation in the amplest manner. If made sooner it would have been a salutary restraint and prevented men from committing themselves, who have become committed before it was made, and will fight with the greater desperation to prevent its being put in execution. I want you to send this letter or give its substance to the Editors of all the papers in N. Y. and to ask them to let me have a *fair shake*. Tell them I don't want favor or partiality, that I have done enough and suffered enough in this cause to claim justice at their hands, and at the hands of all the Union people in the country. And besides, I believe that in doing justice to me they will do justice to the Union cause. If the President does not remove Fremont, I intend to prefer charges against him in form, and force him to a trial, and make him defend himself at the Bar of the Nation.

Arden R. Smith, admirer and assistant of Blair, kept Montgomery informed of events at St. Louis. "I am happy to inform you," he writes, "that the Colonel is in excellent health, indeed he looks better than I have seen him look for years; his spirits and determination being fully up to the requirements of the circumstances surrounding him." His letter was accompanied by the Blair letter to Denison and clippings from the St. Louis papers. "The base ingratitude of McKee and Fishback," he continued to write Montgomery, "who have been made by him [Frank Blair] and his exertions for our party in the fierce struggles of the past years has brought forth its fruits in the loudly expressed contempt and indignation of every Republican not tethered to King Johns" apron string. Even the opposition was sympathetic with Col. Blair.<sup>76</sup> Montgomery was thus agitated into action. He knew that the *Evening News* with its small circulation could not cope with the two powerful dailies. Smith assured him that the articles on the arrest of Blair emanated from "Head Quarters," and that the agent of the Associated Press wrote his articles in McKinstry's office.<sup>77</sup> Clippings of all articles for and against Blair were kept on file. Soon articles from the German press in St. Louis were forthcoming in behalf of Fremont. Notice of these accompanied by others which

<sup>76</sup>Arden R. Smith to M. Blair, Sept. 19, '61, Blair Papers.

<sup>77</sup>Sept. 17, Blair Papers.

seemed to denounce the government in no unmistakable terms were forwarded to the Postmaster General. "It is very evident," said Smith, "from the tone of recent articles in the Republican and Democrat, that Fremont is making the effort to throw the onus of his failures here on the Government."<sup>78</sup>

The attitude of the *Democrat* was galling to Blair. So much was this true that it may safely be said that this organ was one of the causes of the irreparable break between the Blairs and Fremont. Its unstinted praise of the General was not out of place; it could have played a safer and saner policy by speaking in complimentary terms of Frank Blair before the quarrel. The editors were elated over the support which Fremont received in the northern press after he issued his emancipation order. They were quite certain that Lincoln was wrong when he changed the proclamation. Why not allow Congress to decide it?<sup>79</sup> It was a sweet morsel of information that the President's Cabinet was in the majority in support of Fremont. The *Democrat* announced, September 24, that the editors of the *Evening News* had been arrested for publishing a bitter article on the surrender of Lexington, Missouri, in which they reflected adversely on Fremont's conduct of the Army of the West.<sup>80</sup> Frank was now cut off from his public which he thought would substantiate him in his quarrel. The next day the editors of the *Democrat* goaded him a little more by publishing an article which classified the opponents of Fremont as: (1) politicians jealous of his growing power and popularity who had crippled his resources at Washington in order to crush him; (2) contractors with whom he interfered in their onslaughts on the public property; (3) unthinking people who followed the first two classes. One day later Fremont was quoted as saying: "Everything that is directed

<sup>78</sup>Arden R. Smith to M. Blair, Sept. 20, '61, Blair Papers.

<sup>79</sup>*Democrat*, Sept. 18, '61.

<sup>80</sup>The editors were Daniel M. Grissom and Charles G. Ramsey. They were released on Sept. 26, '61. The Washington (D. C.) *Evening Star* of Sept. 24, held that Fremont was responsible for the death of Lyon and the fall of Lexington. It declared that he knew nothing of the science of war. The *Boston Post* concluded that Fremont had not "the cool discretion and just appreciation of power and duty, requisite for a commander in his very critical and responsible position." His temperament "was impetuous, and his action" appeared "too hasty to command the implicit confidence of the public." The *Post* is quoted by the *Democrat*.

against me is directed against" the nation, and gives "its enemy aid and comfort."<sup>81</sup>

Montgomery Blair's Scotch Covenanter blood was up. He was ready, now, to defend the brother whom he believed to be "the greatest man in the country,"<sup>82</sup> and who was the "hope and pride" of the Blair family.<sup>83</sup> He wrote a confidential letter to W. O. Bartlett, which is an enlightening document from the Blair point of view.<sup>84</sup>

I suppose you will be curious to hear what explanations I can make for being so completely demoralized as to Fremont's military antics—I confess I have never been so utterly deceived in my life in respect to a man's faculties—No one of course could feel absolutely certain that a man wholly centered as the Commander of large forces could prove successful in such a position—But I thought Fremont had the breadth of mind & the courage which promised as certainly to bring us success as any man we had—I was therefore wholly unprepared for the failure which he seems to have proved—I do not visit upon him any indignations for Frank's arrest—that was as the phrase is "Genl" Jessie's doings altogether. She came here to Washington and got into a rage with my father for expressing his regrets as mildly as he could at the want of *Vim* & success in the Genls management & she went back & had Frank put in durance the same day for writing here that he had been forced against all his prepossessions to come to that conclusion—

Fremont himself is too brave a man I believe to act in this way—Jessie threatened the old man [Blair Sr.] that Fremont should hold Frank personally responsible expecting that she could make the old father quail at the thought of losing the son of whom [he] is most proud in a duel with a skilled duelist. But the old man told her very quietly that the Blairs did not shrink from responsibility—so she went back to make a military offense of it [.] Genl Scott of whom Frank spoke disparagingly did not think of making Frank respond before a Court Martial for not thinking him up to the emergency. The Nation would have laughed at so ridiculous a procedure & yet this is all Frank has said of Fremont. I will send you a copy of the letter to see what is the ground of this proceeding—I understand now that spies are set upon Frank by Jessie to see if she can get hold of some talk to eke out the prosecution & you must look out for all of the idle accusations to be proved by detectives. They have begun to be conscious that the main statement of opinions that Fremont was not the man he supposed he was in point of ability will hardly suffice to bring

<sup>81</sup>*Democrat*, Sept. 28, '61.

<sup>82</sup>Glendon Welles, *Diary of*, Boston, 1911, 3 vols. III, p. 408.

<sup>83</sup>Nicolay, J. G. and Hay, John, *Abraham Lincoln A History*, New York, 1890, 10 vols. IV, p. 414.

<sup>84</sup>A copy of the original is dated Sept. 26, '61, *Blair Papers*.



shame upon Frank & so we are to have a parcel of ridiculous lies trumped up to help out this womans threat for revenge. She is perfectly unscrupulous you know—a notable example of that was the Fremont manager which she induced poor Bigelow to stand father to in the biography. I am interrupted & must close—I will send you a copy to show it to Mr. Bennett [of the N. Y. Herald]—I can not let it go to the press for I can not make Frank a party to this newspaper controversy. But as he has expressed himself—in the Herald heretofore so kindly I wish him to see that Frank has said nothing in this letter for which he need be ashamed—The President retains the original [of Frank's letter on Fremont].

Frank and Montgomery were not agreed on the course of the latter in his attempt to hush the affair. This is evident in Frank's letter to Montgomery, September 7, 1861:<sup>85</sup>

I admit that I have been excessively annoyed by the telegram and letter you send Fremont but I know very well that you were moved by considerations of my advantages and proverbly as things have turned out it was better, so at best my father believes, but I was galled by it at the time beyond endurance and you may have thought I spoke unkindly but I never for a moment believed you did not act in the matter with the best interest of the Country and my own at least [.] You will observe that Fremont has published the charges he has made against me [and the Blair letter of Sept. 1] in the newspapers. I am exceedingly glad of it as I think that every one will acknowledge that they are silly and frivolous—His wife's letters to the President are also published & are made part of the charges—I cannot see why this is done except to show that she has taken a hand in the fight and to introduce my father & make the affair appear a personal one between the Blairs & the Fremonts—I am very well satisfied with the affair so far as I am concerned but I am very much disgusted that the government should be afraid to remove him after he has proven his incompetency & his insubordination so clearly—He has also pursued a most despotic & arbitrary course in suppressing every criticism of his course whilst at the same time his newspapers abuse & denounce the Administration in the most scurrilous manner and lay on it the blame of all his failures—If the Administration will submit meekly to such castigation at the hands of such a nincompoop, it deserves to be treated with contempt & will get what it deserves. The Democrat & Republican and the German Press all of which are in the interest & pay of Fremont resound with abuse of the government and justify his failures by throwing the fault on Lincoln—There is no one except a few of Fremont's favorites in the army who would regret his removal & they would be as prompt to toady to his successor as they have been to toady to him.

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<sup>85</sup>Blair Papers.



Frank informed Montgomery a day later that Colonel Cook, just from Jefferson City, reported Fremont's officers "filled with despondency" over the military situation in Missouri.<sup>86</sup> Fremont was at Jefferson City to ward off Gen. Price who was invading Missouri. McKinstry had gone with his staff and corps of newspaper correspondents. The *New York Times* was out in its "virulent" attack on Fremont.<sup>87</sup> Frank uttered a groan as he thought of Gen. Price evading Fremont and going northward in Missouri. The effects of such a success would be extremely serious to the Union cause. In a short letter to his brother he exclaimed: "How long O Lord, how long—is the despondency cry of all who wait on the inexplicable & fatal delays of the Administration."<sup>88</sup>

The President was reluctant to remove Fremont. He had informed Mrs. Fremont that the Blair letter had made no impression on his mind against the "honor and integrity of General Fremont," when she interviewed him at the White House on September 11. The successive disasters which befell the Union forces made a victory imperative. England and France had recognized the Confederacy as a belligerent and the North was demanding victory. The Secretary of War was under the fire of criticism while General McClellan was unable to defeat the Confederates in Virginia. In truth, McClellan was still drilling an army in the east when Fremont took the field to retrieve the loss of Lexington and restore his prestige. The second arrest of Blair had made him a raging lion and hung the sword of Damocles over Fremont's head. The press of the country divided on the Blair-Fremont quarrel. Rumors of the removal of "The General" persisted and were as regularly denied by the *Democrat*. Friends of Blair worked unceasingly in St. Louis in defense of their martyr while those of Fremont were despondent and bitter at the idea of dismissal; only the "secessionists and a few of the unscrupulous and unreasonable adherents of Col. Blair" rejoiced at the thought.<sup>89</sup> The *Democrat* boasted of its large circulation—

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<sup>86</sup>Blair Papers.

<sup>87</sup>*Democrat*, Sept. 30.

<sup>88</sup>Blair Papers, Oct. 7.

<sup>89</sup>*Democrat*, Oct. 4, '61.

it was Fremont's paper; it tried to explain why he had failed to support Gen. Lyon; it begged for fair play for its brave General; it assured the country that St. Louis was orderly and safe—all this while a stream of letters against Gen. Fremont poured out of Missouri.<sup>90</sup> On October 14 the Secretary of War ordered the work on the fortifications about St. Louis to cease. The "Government" had taken a hand (New York *Evening Post*, Oct. 19).

Frank Blair filed charges against Fremont on September 26. He stated that he believed it was his simple duty to his government. The charges were various. Fremont was accused of neglect of duty, of disobedience to orders, of gross extravagance, mismanagement, and misapplication of the public funds, and of despotic and tyrannical conduct. He laid the case before the President through General Thomas.<sup>91</sup> The Secretary of War (Simon Cameron), and Adjutant General Thomas (General Thomas had opposed the appointment of Fremont, declares Mrs. Fremont) arrived in St. Louis October 11, stopped at Barnum's, and looked after the "business" connected with the Department of the West.<sup>92</sup> It required about one and one-half days to make the report which was damaging to Fremont. The investigation was, to say the least, brief. The *Democrat* called the report "the desultory diary of an official flying visit." There is little doubt that the Secretary and General Thomas had made up their minds as to the incompetency of Fremont before they reached St. Louis. Their official jaunt, however, supplied them with sufficient evidence of inefficiency to justify concern.<sup>93</sup> Blair was sustained. The *Democrat* thought the report was grossly unfair; the New York *Commercial Advertiser* pronounced the publication of the report as "conduct unworthy of an officer and gentleman;" the *Springfield (Mass.) Republican* knew of "no publication, since the war commenced, so improper in itself, so demoralizing in its influence,

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<sup>90</sup>*Democrat*, Oct. 4-15; New York *Evening Post*, for the same period.

<sup>91</sup>*Democrat*, Oct. 9, '61.

<sup>92</sup>*Democrat*, Oct. 12.

<sup>93</sup>*Democrat*, Nov. 4, '61.

upon the popular mind, or so valuable to the enemy." The *Republican* was wrong.<sup>94</sup>

Few men have put forth greater efforts to win a victory than did General Fremont in his last days in Missouri. One heart-breaking incident after another befell him in his plans. At last the messenger who slipped through his lines to hand him his notice of dismissal found him preparing for battle with the enemy which he supposed to be near, but as a matter of fact, was far away. General Hunter had been empowered to displace Fremont and assume command. "The Pathfinder" delivered his farewell speech to his beloved army on Saturday, November 2, and, with a body-guard, trudged back to St. Louis. "We have grown up together," he said to his soldiers, "and I have become familiar with the brave and generous spirit which you bring to the defense of your country—continue as you have begun, and give to my successor the same cordial and enthusiastic support with which you have encouraged me—Soldiers I regret to leave you."<sup>95</sup>

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"The Thomas Report stated:

(1) The reported cost of \$14,000 for the construction of barracks in St. Louis, if true, was not extravagant.

(2) Brig. General Curtis deemed Gen. Fremont unequal to his command.

(3) Patients in the hospital were doing well under the care of an efficient doctor and his corps of assistants from volunteer service.

(4) Col. Andrews reported irregularities in the pay department. He wanted instructions. He said he was required to make payments and transfers contrary to regulations. He had been threatened with military confinement if he refused.

(5) A musician was found on Fremont's staff, as Director of Music and rank of Captain of Engineers.

(6) Major Allen, who had recently succeeded Major McKinstry as Quartermaster-General, reported "great irregularities," and asked for instructions. Fremont had ordered forage to be shipped from St. Louis to Tipton where it was cheap. The Quartermaster was in debt \$4,506,309.73.

(7) Baird and Palmer received a contract to furnish oats at 35c a bu. and hay at \$19 a ton, when others in St. Louis offered to furnish oats at 28c a bu. and hay at \$17.95 a ton. Baird was a Californian of Palmer, Cook & Co.

(8) Contracts had been given to individuals without bids or advertising.

(9) Fremont had two hundred copies of his Proclamation printed and addressed to his army one week after the President had asked him to change it.

(10) Fremont could not move his army for want of transportation.

(11) Fremont was held responsible for the defeat of Gen. Lyon by Gen. Hunter.

(12) Fremont was fonder of pomp than of realities of war. His critics believed the direst results would befall the army, if he was not removed from his command.

<sup>94</sup>*Democrat*, Nov. 6, '61.

The disloyal utterances which were made by the soldiers and officers, upon the removal of their General, were no more than could have been expected under the circumstances. Excerpts from the journals of the time show widespread sympathy for "The General." Among them were the *Evansville (Ind.) Journal*, *Peoria (Ill.) Transcript*, *Cincinnati Commercial*,<sup>96</sup> and the *New York Evening Post*. The latter maintained that others had made mistakes without suffering removal. Why should Fremont? Declaring itself to be free of partisan feeling, it asserted that the removal smote the nation like a battle (Oct. 30, '61).

A reported assemblage of twenty thousand people greeted Fremont when he reached St. Louis. Soldiers, friends, abolitionists, radicals, Germans, old and young, went, through sympathy or curiosity, to see the much talked of General. They participated in a "demonstration," said the *Democrat*, "the most imposing" that had ever taken place in St. Louis. Persons high in the confidence of the Administration had led to the downfall of Fremont temporarily, but his proclamation had gone to the hearts of the people and their response was instantaneous. Resolutions from the St. Louisans were presented to their fallen General, the first of which, being: "We recognize in John C. Fremont the embodiment of our patriotic feeling and political faith." He responded: "Your—affectionate reception of me has moved my heart. It cheers me and strengthens my confidence—my confidence, already somewhat wavering—in our republican institutions."<sup>97</sup>

The organ of Fremont called for an investigation. Let attacks cease; it proposed to support General Hunter. A German, Mr. Vogel, cried excitedly before a Fremont crowd: "Fremont goes to crush his accusers." And that was what Blair hoped he would attempt to do. His charges were filed with the Secretary of War and he waited impatiently for an opportunity to prove them. While the officers of Fremont's staff, now dismissed, were given the lie to this or that, Blair turned his attention to his lost prestige in St. Louis. General H. W. Halleck succeeded to the command and proposed to

<sup>96</sup>*Democrat*, Nov. 8.

<sup>97</sup>*Democrat*, Nov. 9, '61.

restore "peace and quiet" to the city as well as to "drive every hostile flag" out of Missouri. After the excitement had abated, the friends of Blair serenaded him at the residence of Mr. Farrar on Fourth street, where he was staying. Transparencies and music were in evidence. More so, however, was the interference of a few Germans, who sympathized with Fremont, and who were accosted by the police. The object of the meeting was not to make a great demonstration; it was to express the loyalty of friends and associates. Blair presumed the gathering of his friends had some reference to his late altercation with Fremont. "I have never—allowed myself," he said, "to despair of the safety of the Republic and the triumph of the Union—The safety of the country does not depend upon any one man—It rests upon the people, and I am firmly convinced that they can, and will uphold it—I have no regrets to express and no apologies to make," no "concessions" to grant. "What I did, I did from a sincere desire to serve God and my country."<sup>98</sup>

This unfortunate quarrel between erstwhile friends led to the undoing of both of them. The radicals saw in Fremont a leader in their rise to power. The State was made secure to the Union in 1861 when the convention met in Jefferson City and St. Louis to determine upon what action the State should take. The conservative elements soon found leadership in Governor H. R. Gamble, Frank Blair, James O. Broadhead, T. T. Gantt, and Samuel T. Glover. The spirit of Fremont, warped and expanded, found embodiment in men like Charles U. Drake. Blair succeeded in ridding his State of Fremont only to lose his grasp on the political situation while he was away on the battlefields and in Congress. Fremont tried his hand, after a second appointment, at generalship in the east and failed again. Used as a tool by smoother politicians, he stirred enough in the presidential campaign of 1864 to help force the resignation of Montgomery Blair as postmaster general.

Meantime the radicals in Congress transformed a committee in that body for investigations into the conduct of the

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<sup>98</sup>*Democrat*, Nov. 11, 12, 20, 21, '61.

war into a tribunal to try the Administration. Senator Lane of Kansas persisted in his demands to have Fremont's regime in Missouri investigated. Blair had hoped for a military trial of "The Pathfinder." The Committee, composed very largely of energetic partisans, rash and headstrong, called whomever it pleased, shaped its *leading* questions, and reported that it was unable to express its opinion on this or that issue in the Fremont-Blair case. Blair had no other recourse than to speak on the subject whenever possible or keep silent.<sup>99</sup> Fremont refused to demand a military trial. Montgomery Blair had Samuel T. Glover, an honest, able, and prominent lawyer of St. Louis, to work with the committeemen when they were in St. Louis investigating Fremont. Glover made very little headway with them for they refused to allow him to secure some information which he considered necessary to prove his case.<sup>100</sup>

Much information was either suppressed or uncalled for by the Committee. Finally, on March 7, 1862, Frank Blair rose in Congress to make his attack on Fremont. The pressure of the press to force the Administration to re-instate Fremont in command and the charges that Fremont could not get a trial were too much for the blood of a Blair, especially, when he knew that Fremont had not moved for a hearing. What kind of a trial did Fremont want? "One in which his own loose and unsupported statements, and those of his friends, shall go to the public, rather than a lawful trial in which evidence can be sifted and a judgment pronounced by his peers." Warming under the influence of debate and resenting the undercurrent of enmity in men like Schuyler Colfax, Blair denounced Fremont's testimony before the Committee on the Conduct of the War as an "apology for disaster and defeat; ingenious upon its face by the omission of important facts, and by the suggestion of others which never existed." The idea of a popular magazine comparing Fremont with Bonaparte by calling the Missouri campaign "Fremont's Hundred

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<sup>99</sup>Report of Committee on Conduct of the War, Parts 2 and 3; William Whatley Pierson, Jr., "The Committee on the Conduct of The Civil War," in *American Historical Review*, XXIII, 550-576.

<sup>100</sup>S. T. Glover to M. Blair, Jan. 8, '62, Blair Papers.

Days in Missouri" was ludicrous. "Can imagination conceive of Bonaparte returning to Paris, and announcing that he had lost two armies, liberated two negroes, and published a bombastic proclamation [?]" He reviewed the friendly relations which had existed between the Blairs and the Fremonts; he reiterated his personal regard for Fremont, confessed his sorrow at finding him incapable of the Command of the Army of the West, and, one by one, introduced telegrams and letters which he considered necessary to substantiate his condemnation of Fremont. The recent partisan speech of Hon. Shanks of Indiana in behalf of Fremont rankled in Blair's heart. Horace Greeley's jibes at Lincoln were bitterly resented. Blair was unrelenting, mad. He assured his colleagues and the crowded galleries that the President had removed Fremont on his "own judgment upon events which transpired in Missouri. Before General Fremont took command in that department, uninterrupted success attended the standard of the Union. The first blow which was struck for the Government was given in Missouri; the first successes of the cause were won upon the soil of that State. Camp Jackson, Boonville, and Carthage, made the names of Lyon and Sigel historic, and gilded the cloud of disaster which had settled upon our arms elsewhere. The welcome which greeted the advent of Fremont had hardly ceased to sound before the cry of disasters broke upon our ears. Humiliation, disaster, defeat, and disgrace, came with him, remained with him, and went away with him and his army of contractors—As little as there is to exalt in his enforced obedience [to resign] to what he dared not resist, yet it was the most commendable act, after all, of his administration."<sup>101</sup>

The Chairman of the Committee on Military Defense had thus spoken with few interruptions for two hours. He had delivered his tirade, or philippic, either designation depending upon the hearers or readers. As he sat down, Schuyler Colfax rose to answer in behalf of Fremont. Colfax had long professed family friendship for the Blairs. He now claimed that, and illy concealed his enmity in a masterly political speech

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<sup>101</sup>The *Congressional Globe*, 37th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1118-1124.



which was blended with an appeal to patriotism. He was superior to Blair in debate, and although squinting at the truth when he declared himself unprepared to answer Blair's "unexpected" speech, he won the sympathy and respect of the gallery and his colleagues. Only the staunch Administration men and Blair's friends kept cool. He agreed that Fremont was "sometimes an impulsive man;" but he was not timid; he bore the single record of a Civil War major general who had gone into the field to face the enemy. Colfax was sorry the President had not supported Fremont's move for emancipation in its entirety. Blair called it bombastic; Colfax said it was "firm and decided." He did not hold Fremont responsible for the defeats at Wilson's Creek and Lexington. Those catastrophes were the results of poor equipment, lack of men, and the failure of the Administration to co-operate with Fremont. The "saddest day that loyal men of Missouri saw was the day, Fremont was deposed."<sup>102</sup> This speech must have been a great satisfaction to the sour-faced Thaddeus Stevens, the best hater of the Blairs in Congress.

The stepfather of Colfax was in the gallery. The next day he gleefully described to his wife, Mrs. Matthews:<sup>103</sup>

Yesterday Schuyler made a magnificent speech in the House in defence of Fremont. Blair spoke, and it came on the House unexpectedly. It was unprepared, and was a magnificent burst of eloquence. I don't think I ever heard a more happy effort. He spoke an hour and fifteen minutes, and as soon as he had finished the House adjourned. Members went up to him from all quarters and complimented him; the galleries came down and shook hands with him—a great number of them. The speech was highly praised by those even who are enemies of Fremont. Schuyler may well be proud of his position in Congress.

The speech struck a popular chord. The radicals heartily responded. Horace Greeley exultantly pronounced it impressive. Colfax was elected speaker of the next House of Representatives after M. Blair had spiritedly supported Elihu Washburne.<sup>104</sup> The *Democrat* had already announced

<sup>102</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>103</sup>Ovando J. Hollister, *Life of Schuyler Colfax*, New York, 1886, p. 183.

<sup>104</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 183; E. W. Martin, *The Life and Public Services of Schuyler Colfax*, San Francisco, 1868, pp. 153-154.



that Colonel Blair's quarrel with Fremont had "killed him as a national man, and completely squelched his political prospects" in St. Louis—he could not be elected even for constable (Nov. 27, '61). Blair, nevertheless, was to be elected to Congress again, to win his laurels on the battlefield, to turn Democrat and go the Senate of the United States. He was defeated for the vice-presidency on the Democratic ticket in 1868.

Colonel Leonidas Haskell informed Montgomery Blair during the winter of 1862-63 that Fremont thought he would be able to pay the fee which had not yet been paid for years of legal service. Blair wrote<sup>106</sup> to Fremont that he hoped a settlement might be made. "If it is still inconvenient to pay, I would be content with your note for the amount giving yourself in making it whatever time you deemed necessary to enable you to pay it without inconvenience." Blair had been in urgent need of money when Haskell talked with him. He offered to settle for three thousand dollars at that time, although the full amount was five thousand dollars. The full amount was considered by Blair to be extremely small. Fremont was still hard pressed for money in 1863 and asked Blair to settle for three thousand dollars. Blair accepted, thereby closing their relationships.

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Mrs. Fremont arrived again in St. Louis in May, 1868. A particular event had drawn her thither. It was to be on the 27th of the month. At the same time President Andrew Johnson was facing impeachment at the hands of an angry Congress. The papers were loaded with the news of the procedure of the trial. General U. S. Grant and Schuyler Colfax were being loudly proclaimed by the Republican press as the nominees for the presidency and vice-presidency, respectively. There was, consequently, little space in the news columns of the country for notice of the celebration which took place in Lafayette Park, St. Louis. A multitude of citizens and strangers assembled to pay tribute to Mis-

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<sup>106</sup>July 31, 1863, *Blair Papers*.

souri's great Senator, Thomas Hart Benton, who had died before he saw his country torn with rebellion.

The tribute was symbolized by Miss Harriet Hosmer's large bronze statute of the "Old Roman." It was colossal, "grand and simple" in effect, yet it presented a pronounced likeness of Benton (Special Dispatch to the *Cincinnati Commercial*, May 28, '68). A salute of thirty guns, one for each year of his service in the Senate, were fired by order of the Secretary of War. Jessie Benton Fremont unveiled the statue and listened to "a just and merited eulogium upon the life and services of the illustrious dead." It was pronounced the ablest effort of the speaker's life. He had labored hard on that inaugural address. It was his tribute to his erstwhile friend and benefactor. His father had written the peroration, and his brother had contributed to the speech. It was delivered during his greatest campaign for the presidency or vice-presidency. His hopes were high; five weeks later he was to be nominated for the vice-presidency of the United States by the Democratic party in its convention in Tammany Hall. It was the last time for Frank Blair to speak in the hearing of Mrs. Fremont.

## AN EARLY MISSOURI POLITICAL FEUD

ROY V. MAGERS

A good fight is always a matter of interest. The first ten years of Missouri's history as a state can therefore lay claim to being an especially noteworthy period, because in addition to the items of general political, economic and social importance that it presents for consideration, it is memorable for one of the bitterest feuds that have marked the course of the State's political development. The fight was between Missouri's first two representatives in the United States Senate, Thomas Hart Benton and David Barton. The prowess of Senator Benton as a fighter on the "field of honor" as well as on the floor of the Senate, is so well known that it requires no comment. In his colleague, David Barton, he had no mean antagonist, tho Barton's stay in the Senate was relatively so brief and he was in general so over-shadowed by the towering personality of Benton, that he has received scant attention from the historians, and his own claims to distinction have been forgotten. Yet he was a man of no slight consequence, who gained nationwide recognition as a Whig leader, and whose record in the Senate was one of which any state might well have been proud. He was one of the most successful and popular lawyers of his day in St. Louis, and during Missouri's days as a territory was attorney general, circuit judge, speaker of the lower House, president of the first Constitutional Convention and the writer of the State's first constitution in 1820. His popularity is further attested by the fact that he was easily elected to the United States Senate, while Benton's election was bitterly fought. Indeed, it was probably Barton's influence that made the election of Benton possible—a fact which both men were to recall later with little pleasure.

The enmity that soon developed between the two senators is not altogether easy to explain. It was openly displayed and nationally known as early as 1826, for in May of that year Barton, in the Senate, directly accused Benton of misrepre-

senting the feeling of Missouri people toward the government in connection with the sale of lead mines and salines in the State. Benton, in the course of his argument for his bill for graduating the price of public lands, had made the statements that Barton denounced. Barton, for his part, said that Benton had attempted to turn the people of Missouri against the administration, and that Benton's Graduation Bill was a "compound of electioneering and speculation." He hinted that his colleague was a traitor, and descending to a still lower level of personal attack, he recalled the fact that Benton had been a director of the defunct Bank of Missouri, and had had a part in "gutting" it of \$152,000. "True, he did not take a leading part in the labors of the chase, but he was 'in at the death' of the institution and received his share of the game." *Niles' Register* for June 17, 1826, while inclined to sympathize with Barton rather than Benton, deplored the use of such language in a senatorial debate, as well it might.<sup>1</sup> Later in the same year Barton returned to the attack on the Graduation Bill and injected some sarcastic remarks about Benton, and again, in the next session of Congress, speaking on the same bill, he referred to the use that had been made of it to corrupt the electorate and win support for Jackson in Missouri. Senator Benton himself was said to have carried petitions for the measure through the State in the campaign of 1826. Barton said that for five years this bill had hung like a guillotine over his neck, and he begged the Senate either "to strike the blow or take away the apparatus."<sup>2</sup>

The climax of these forensic attacks was reached in connection with the famous debate on the Foote Resolution, in 1830, a debate made memorable by the Webster-Hayne controversy, but which Col. Benton had really inaugurated by criticising the resolution at the very beginning.<sup>3</sup> On February 9, 1830, Senator Barton, speaking on the resolution, referred to himself as one of those "unlineal and bastard sons of the West" who had been denounced as false to their country during this debate. All was going well, he said, with a

<sup>1</sup>*Niles Register*, 30:283. *Cong. Debates*, Vol. 2, pp. 749, 754.

<sup>2</sup>*Cong. Debates*, Vol. 3, p. 39; Vol. 4, p. 483.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, Vol. 6, Part I, p. 4.



DAVID BARTON



favorable attitude toward the West and a liberal policy in regard to public lands, when "a minor chieftan of the party,"<sup>4</sup> of not much renown for either policy of war, not satisfied with the scalps he had taken in the late campaign (i. e., the election,) fell suddenly and unexpectedly upon the prisoners of the minority and commenced a scene of the massacre of the living, and dragging the dead from their graves, even re-scalped those who had been scalped and buried by other arms more valorous than his own, during the existence of the by-gone war! And thus one, arrogantly speaking for the whole West threw the fire-brand among the members of this body and lighted up the flame of this partisan warfare, of sectional prejudice, local animosity and civil discord." Finally, warming to his work and raging with the lust of battle, he hurled this parting shaft of stinging sarcasm at the doughty Benton: "He is no native of our Valley. He came to us uninvited; complained of having been driven by terror and persecution, desired our hospitality and auspices and a little room to lie down and repose. The Percy (i. e., *Henry Clay*) found him weak and distempered, politically, and nourished and medicined him—put on his own collar and inscription at large, with a special index finger pointing to the words 'cousin to Percy's wife'. These gave him currency and consideration and introduced him to the great hunt. Without the help of this collar and inscription, it would have been as impossible to elevate him to his present rank as it would be to drag up from the depths of the ditch, by a frail woollen thread, some ponderous and inert mass. Others thrust a finger under that collar and pulled, who have since had cause to regret it and have washed their hands of the whole affair."<sup>5</sup>

These were biting words, barbed shafts that must have cruelly lacerated the feelings of the self-important Benton, who was not accustomed to having his ponderous dignity thus sneeringly offended. The taunting reminder of Benton's indebtedness to Clay, to whose patronage he owed much in his early political career in Missouri, and of his treachery to his patron, were thrusts that must have found the joints of

<sup>4</sup>The reference is of course to Benton.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 146.

the great man's armor of conceit. And then that parting shot about Benton's obligation to Barton for his election to the Senate;—it must have rankled, for it was literally true.

The speech was conspicuous for its impropriety and offensive for its low tone of personal bitterness, and yet it indicated a considerable amount of moral courage in the man who had the temerity to risk his political destiny by thus challenging the vengeance of the great Thomas Hart Benton. For Benton was a great man even then, and his influence in Missouri especially was not to be thus contemptuously flouted.

Mr. Barton paid the penalty for his presumption the next year, when he failed of re-election to the Senate, and so Benton had his revenge. He had it in another way, too, for in his widely read "Thirty Years' View," he makes absolutely no mention of Barton, except to include his name in giving the record of votes in the Senate on certain measures, and it is largely on this account that Senator Barton has sunk into almost complete oblivion. He deserved a better fate, for in spite of his faults and limitations, he really was an able man and made a highly creditable record during his ten years in the Senate. He came to be recognized as one of the leading Whigs of the country and they delighted in honoring him. In June, 1830, a dinner was given in his honor in Cincinnati, at which some two hundred prominent men were present. The *Cincinnati American* of June 21, 1830, in its account of this affair, says: "It was a proud day for Mr. Barton—a proud day for Mr. Clay—a proud day for Cincinnati—a proud day for Ohio—a proud day for the nation." Making due allowance for partisanship and for the rhetorical temptation to which the writer of that paragraph evidently yielded, there still must have been a considerable residuum of real pride to inspire it. One of the toasts drunk on that proud occasion was "Our distinguished guest—a patriot of whom the nation may be proud, the honesty and independence of whose principles are equalled only by the intrepidity with which he defends them." Among the other toasts was this one, offered by Senator Barton himself, "The Present Administration—the label may be inscribed upon its very front, 'light enters not here'." Rather a neat thrust, for a Whig gathering, for remember this was 1830, and



"King Andrew" was on the throne. Then there was this clever one: "The Veto, it will macadamize our Clay."<sup>6</sup> At a similar dinner in Louisville, June 29, 1830, in Mr. Barton's honor, this toast was drunk: "Hon. David Barton—while such sentinels are stationed on the watch tower, not even the silent step of executive encroachment will pass unobserved."<sup>7</sup> Evidently, Senator Barton of Missouri was quite a man, in the opinion of the Whigs of 1830.

It can scarcely be doubted that he had character, as well as ability, to justify this admiration. For example, he made this open declaration of his attitude on slavery. "It is our secret curse—how shall we avert it? It is the secret poison stealing its way to our vitals—how shall we be healed of the malady?"<sup>8</sup> Let it be remembered that this was said on the very eve of the most intense period of the slavery controversy, the year before Garrison began the publication of "The Liberator," and Barton was a senator from a slave state. He showed commendable courage too in his defiance of the code of honor of his day, the "code duello," in his refusal to meet Conway, of Arkansas, on the "field of honor," when challenged by that gentleman on account of certain papers presented by Senator Barton in connection with the work of the committee on public lands. Barton said that he would never recognize the principle that the investigation of official conduct could impose any such obligation, and published the correspondence, "to contribute his mite toward putting down and bringing into merited contempt the system of bullying and pistoleering which is too rapidly becoming the substitute for virtue, talents and truth."<sup>9</sup> No little nerve was required to take this positive stand in that day when the duel was generally recognized as the honorable way for gentlemen to settle their differences.

Senator Barton's record in Congress was what might have been expected of a western Whig, and it serves in some measure to account for the unfriendliness between him and his colleague. On the public land question, Barton favored giving a preference

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<sup>6</sup>Niles, 38:357f.

<sup>7</sup>Niles, 38:372ff.

<sup>8</sup>Cong. Debates, Vol. 6, Part 1, p. 146.

<sup>9</sup>Niles, 26:298f.

to actual settlers, or "squatters," and in the 21st Congress, 1829-30, he spoke at length in favor of a pre-emption bill, saying that it would defeat speculators and put the lands in the hands of those who would actually use them. He believed that the public lands should be considered not only as a source of revenue, but as a fund with which to elevate non-freeholders to the rank of freeholders, thus giving them new interest in their country and a new motive to promote its prosperity and protect its existence.<sup>10</sup> The nationalistic spirit in this statement is worth noting, to say nothing of its common sense theory on the use of the public lands.

Upon this general point Barton and Benton were agreed. But Barton opposed Benton's pet measure, the Graduation Bill, because he thought that it would operate to prevent the sale of the best lands at the original price of \$1.25. In 1827, when Benton made a renewed effort to get his bill through, Barton offered an amendment, to reduce the price of all lands, after July 4, 1828, to \$1.00 per acre, and to allow anyone to take a quarter section after it had been on the market for five years, title to be acquired by living on the land and cultivating it for five years.<sup>11</sup> Thus he gave evidence of his sympathy with the policy of low priced lands, and at the same time found a way to take issue with Senator Benton and so to assert his political independence. It is noteworthy that he was the only Western senator to vote against the Graduation Bill, while only two Eastern senators supported it.<sup>12</sup> As for other aspects of his land policy, Senator Barton opposed the giving of lands to the states, arguing that the United States should husband its lands to a reasonable extent and retain in its own hands the means of making freeholders of its citizens. In this we see another indication of his nationalistic spirit.<sup>13</sup> He did not sympathize with the opposition to the Foote Resolution, which was generally regarded as antagonistic to the settlement of the West. Here again he was probably influenced by his desire to oppose Benton, for it was in this connection that he

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<sup>10</sup>*Cong. Debates*, Vol. 6, Part 1, pp. 8, 9.

<sup>11</sup>*Annals of Cong.*, 41:656; *Cong. Debates*, Vol. 4, Part 1, pp. 28, 483.

<sup>12</sup>*Cong. Debates*, Vol. 4, Part 1, p. 678.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 762.

made his most violent attack on his colleague, as has already been noted.<sup>14</sup>

The record shows Barton to have been even more wholeheartedly in favor of internal improvements than was Benton. Again and again we find him voting for measures looking to the repair and extension of the Cumberland Road and the building of other highways and canals.<sup>15</sup>

On the tariff, he was a consistent protectionist, as was to be expected of a loyal follower of Clay, voting for the tariff bills of 1824 and 1828, and against measures for the removal of duties on certain specific articles.<sup>16</sup> He retired from the Senate before the war on the Bank developed, but he showed an intelligent interest in such matters by introducing a resolution in the 21st Congress, instructing the committee on finance to inquire into the expediency of establishing a uniform currency for the United States.<sup>17</sup>

Senator Barton's attitude in such matters brought him often into conflict with Benton. Though this partly accounts for the enmity that developed between the two, it is not sufficient to explain the very evident personal nature of that enmity, nor its intense bitterness. Mere political rivals do not say such abusive things of each other as we have quoted from Barton's speeches against Benton.

The explanation for this more personal phase of their hostility is probably to be found in their relation to the Clay-Jackson feud, which had a very personal basis, and in which Benton and Barton were on opposite sides. Senator Barton was a loyal supporter of Adams, and his influence seems to have had a good deal to do with the decision of Representative Scott, of Missouri, to cast his vote for Adams instead of Jackson in the House of Representatives in 1825.

In reply to a request for advice in this matter, Senator Barton wrote Mr. Scott on January 28, 1825, saying that while in his opinion an elector is bound to vote as instructed, it is not

<sup>14</sup>*Supra.*, pp. 262-263.

<sup>15</sup>*Annals*, 40:92; 41:137, 294, 570, 765; *Cong. Debates*, Vol. 1, p. 357; Vol. 2, p. 620; Vol. 3, p. 174; Vol. 6, Part 1, pp. 247, 340.

<sup>16</sup>*Annals*, 41:591, 616, 743; *Cong. Debates*, Vol. 3, p. 267; Vol. 4, Part 1, p. 786.

<sup>17</sup>*Cong. Debates*, Vol. 6, Part 1, p. 3.

so with a Representative in Congress, who should be guided by the will of the people of the United States and his own judgment. He gives reasons for regarding Adams as a better man than the other candidates, and says that he is unwilling to separate, in this matter, "from the States in our quarter of the Union."

This correspondence was given to the *St. Louis Republican* by Barton, and published, with a letter from him in which he said that he desired to refute certain "vile fabrications" about the affair.<sup>18</sup>

On the other hand, Senator Benton, in reply to a note from Mr. Scott declaring his intention to vote for Adams, expressed his surprise at a decision "so inconsistent with your previous conversations, so repugnant to your printed pledges, so fatal to yourself. The vote which you intend thus to give is not your own. It belongs to the people of Missouri. They are against Mr. Adams. I, in their name, do solemnly protest against your intention, and deny your moral power thus to bestow their vote." Benton concluded with these mournful words: "To-morrow is the day for your self-immolation. If you have an enemy, he may go and feed his eyes upon the scene; your former friend will shun the afflicting spectacle."<sup>19</sup>

Evidently there had been a lot of wire-pulling by partisans of Adams and Jackson, with heroic efforts to win the vote of Mr. Scott, who was not exactly in an enviable position. No doubt violent partisan feeling had been stirred up, with strong personal resentments growing out of it. Senator Benton's message to Mr. Scott indicates that he took the matter very seriously and felt that Scott's decision was a personal affront to him—a slap in the face, so to speak—and Thomas Hart Benton was not the man to turn the other cheek. This repudiation of his leadership would leave him sore and revengeful, not only against Mr. Scott, but also against Senator Barton.

Herein, therefore, we have a basis for the unfriendliness of the two senators. It would inevitably grow and become intensified as the bitterness between Clay and Adams on the one side and Jackson on the other increased. Barton, in his

<sup>18</sup>Niles, 29:186.

<sup>19</sup>Niles, 28:51.

attack on Benton, February 9, 1830, referred to himself as "one of that great and patriotic minority who so disinterestedly endeavored to sustain the hunted administration of Mr. Adams." We have no record of exactly what had been said by Benton to Barton or about him, but evidently hard words had passed—words that left Barton seething with a resentment that burned more fiercely because his great colleague could afford to ignore it, at least in public. If Benton ever replied to Barton's attacks in Congress, the record does not show it.

This calm restraint on the part of Benton, over against the outspoken and undignified abuse in which Barton indulged, is one of the indications of Benton's superiority. It is clear that he was a man of greater calibre and firmer poise than his colleague, though the latter also had conspicuous ability. This superior power of self-control was revealed further in the fact that while Benton was a man of temperate habits, Barton was said to be grossly intemperate and died a raving maniac.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, during his ten years in the Senate he was a respectable second to Benton as a representative of Missouri's interests.

If he had been content to show more deference to his greater colleague, David Barton possibly might have remained for a considerably longer time in the Senate along with Thomas Hart Benton, with consequences whose importance to Missouri and to the nation may easily be imagined. That he did not make this choice, but chose rather to fight Col. Benton openly and relentlessly, is therefore a matter of interest to Missourians even today.

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<sup>20</sup>Violetto, *History of Missouri*, 260, note 1.

## THE GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF MISSOURI

BY PERRY S. RADER

Section 22 of Article IV of the Constitution of 1820 read: "The Secretary of State shall, as soon as may be, procure a seal of state, with such emblems and devices as shall be directed by law, which shall not be subject to change. It shall be called the 'Great Seal of the State of Missouri', shall be kept by the Secretary of State, and all official acts of the Governor, approbation of laws excepted, shall be thereby authenticated." Section 12 of the Schedule of the Constitution said that "until a seal of state be provided, the Governor may use his private seal."

The substance of these constitutional provisions should be noted. First, the emblems and devices were to be prescribed by law enacted by the General Assembly. Second, the emblems and devices, when once prescribed by law, could never be changed by the Legislature. Third, the constitutional provisions contemplated that a law prescribing the emblems and devices would be enacted as early as could conveniently be done, and that when enacted the Secretary of State would, as soon as he could conveniently do so, cause a seal to be made which would portray and be expressive of the emblems and devices prescribed by the law—they said that he should "procure" a seal of state "as soon as may be" and that the emblems and devices incorporated in the seal should be such as "shall be directed by law," and that until a seal were "provided the Governor may use his private seal"—thereby indicating that a seal was necessary for the proper authentication of the official acts of the Governor, and that therefore the law should be enacted and the seal procured "as soon as may be." Fourth, the seal of state should be called the "Great Seal of the State of Missouri." Fifth, until the constitutional provision was itself changed, the seal should be kept by the Secretary of State. He was to be its official custodian. It was to be kept in his office, and in no other, and to be handed on to his

successors for all time. The Governor was not to keep it. It was not to be kept in the Governor's office. The Secretary of State was to keep it, and use it to authenticate "all official acts of the Governor," except his approbation of bills enacted by the Legislature. The Secretary of State was, therefore, to be the Governor's hand, and use the seal to authenticate or prove the Governor's signature. The imprint of the seal attached by the Secretary of State to a paper signed by the Governor was to be proof or evidence that the Governor had signed it. If the seal contained any other emblems or devices than those prescribed by law it would not be proof or evidence that the Governor had signed the paper. To be an authentication of an official act of the Governor it had to be the "Great Seal of the State of Missouri," and therefore the emblems and devices prescribed by law became an integral part of it and proof that it was in fact the "Great Seal."

The Second Session of the First General Assembly of the State of Missouri convened at St. Charles on November 5, 1821. On the next day, November 6th, Governor McNair submitted his message as Governor to the General Assembly in which, among other things, he said: "Considerable inconvenience daily arises from the want of a seal of state, and I deem it proper to remind you of the necessity of supplying the deficiency at the present session."

The Journal of the House shows that on November 7th "so much of said message as relates to the seal of the state" was referred to a committee composed of Chancey Smith, representative of St. Charles county, and James Alcorn and Elias Elston, representatives of Howard county. On December 31st Mr. Smith reported for this "select committee" a bill "prescribing the emblems and devices of the Great Seal of the State of Missouri," and it was "committed to a committee of the whole House." On January 8, 1822, "the House resolved itself into a committee of the whole, and took into consideration a bill prescribing the emblems and devices of the Great Seal of the State of Missouri; after some time spent therein the committee rose, and reported said bill with sundry amendments," and it was "ordered that said bill be engrossed for third reading on to-morrow." On January 9th, "the en-

grossed bill prescribing the emblems and devices of the Great Seal of the State of Missouri was read a third time and passed." The Journal of the Senate shows that on January 9th "a message was received from the House of Representatives by Mr. Leduc" to the effect that "the House of Representatives have passed a bill of the following title: An act prescribing the emblems and devices of the Great Seal of the State of Missouri." The Journal of the Senate of said date further shows: "A bill entitled, 'An act prescribing the emblems and devices of the Great Seal of the State of Missouri,' was read the first time, and the rules being dispensed with was read a second time, and the rules being further dispensed with was read a third time. Mr. Emmons moved to amend the bill by striking out all that part relative to the 'Bears'. Disagreed to. The question then being, Shall the bill pass? it was determined in the affirmative." Four Senators voted in the negative. Thus the bill passed both houses on the same day, January 9, 1822. It was signed by Governor McNair on January 11th. It was passed in the last days of the session, both houses adjourning *sine die* on January 12th. These Journal showings have been set out in detail because they shed some light on the question, Who was the author of the bill?—a question considered in the closing part of this discussion.

The law as thus enacted is printed in the Laws of 1821 at page 75. Without apology it unblushingly declared:

"The device for an armorial achievement for the State of Missouri shall be as follows, to-wit: *Arms*, parted per pale, on the dexter side; *gules*, the white or grisly bear of Missouri, *passant guardant*, proper on a chief engrailed; *azure*, a crescent *argent*, on the sinister side *argent*, the arms of the United States, the whole within a band inscribed with the words, 'United we stand, divided we fall.' *For the crest* over a helmet full faced, grated with six bars, or a cloud proper, from which ascends a star *argent*, and above it a constellation of twenty-three smaller stars *argent* on an *azure* field surrounded by a cloud *proper*. *Supporters* on each side, a white or grisly bear of Missouri, rampant, guardant *proper*, standing on a scroll, inscribed with the motto, '*Salus populi Suprema lex esto*,' and under the scroll the



numerical letters MDCCCXX. And the great seal of this state shall be so engraved as to present by its impression, the device of the armorial achievement aforesaid, surrounded by a scroll inscribed with the words, 'The great seal of the state of Missouri' in roman capitals, which shall be in a circular form and not more than two and a half inches in diameter."

The law is reproduced above exactly as it was published in the Laws of 1821—italics, punctuation, spelling, capitalization, foreign words, or supposed words, and all. It is not as foolish as it sounds. Looking upon it with a kindly eye one may recall that Mark Twain once said that "Chaucer may have been a great poet, but he was not much of a speller."

The words do have some meaning. They are no longer Missouri words. They belong to the age of ignorant kings. They are the words of flamboyant gentlemen who pertained to the age of feudalism, and affected the speech and bombast of feudal lords. They are the stilted words of a half-taught scholarship of a century ago or more—not dangerous, nor even offensive. Some of the kindest Americans of the period affected the use of words which had their origin in the beautiful Greek or the accurate Latin. They supposed it gave them a veneering of learning and invested them with dignity. It fitted in well with their ceremonial manners. Especially did such affectation sit well upon the tongues of certain pompous gentlemen who stood in high-top dragoon boots and wore swords and cocked hats.

The words of this law are the language of heraldry. They suggest feudal castles, coats of arms, signet rings, rattling swords, and preparation for war. They are not dangerous, but interesting—interesting, for one thing, because in them is no clear glimpse of democracy. The historian discerns in such laws the spirit of a people. From one such law he cannot draw a general conclusion, but he can from a multitude of them. But one is evidence. Why should the people of a rising young commonwealth in the heart of America, thousands of miles from war-weary and king-weary Europe, employ the language of feudalism to express the aspirations and governmental policy they wished the seal, to be attached to the State's formal papers, to manifest to their own citizens and to

all succeeding generations, and to those of other commonwealths? Was the spirit of feudalism still alive here? Were wholesome English words too plain and common for democracy? Although stoutly asserting in their Constitution and in other statutes that they were a democracy, were they still affecting the showy vanities of a pretentious aristocracy? Or was this law only one incident of a still surviving but fast-dying spirit of feudalism?

We must remember that this law was framed near the close of the period of "fine writing" among all English-speaking peoples—the age when *fire* was a *conflagration*, when a *dinner* was a *repast*, when a ram's *horns* were a pair of *cornucopias*, when *candlesticks* were *candelabra*, when to *sleep* was to *recline in the arms of Morpheus*, when big words were the sign of learning, and foreign words were preferred to native speech. We must also remember that the social atmosphere about St. Louis, and St. Charles where the General Assembly met which enacted the law, was French, and that some of the important words in it come to us from the Greek or from the Latin, as those words were modified or twisted into their present form by the French tongue. And we must remember also that only six years before the law was enacted Andrew Jackson had crushed Pakenham and his twelve thousand British soldiers at New Orleans, and that there was in the whole Mississippi Valley and had been for forty years a very lively hatred for England and all things English, owing to the activity of the agents of Great Britain in stirring up the Indians to murder and rob American settlers on both sides of the Mississippi. It was but natural that the General Assembly were far more inclined to look to France rather than to England for models for the Great Seal, and to the French language instead of the English for the words by which to describe its emblems and devices.

Nor is it fair to overlook the genuine American phrases to be found in the law. The words it required to be inscribed on the band of the escutcheon, "United we stand, divided we fall," are as closely akin to the Declaration of Independence, both in their origin and sentiment, as any other words to be found in all the range of American literature. Nor is it fair to overlook

the native spirit manifested by the use of the bears as emblems of a hardy Western people.

Besides all this, the General Assembly followed the examples which had been set for them by the older states and the United States. The words inscribed on the scroll of the seal of Massachusetts are *Ense Petit Placidam sub libertate quietem* and on the outer band are the words *Sigillum Rei Publicae Massachusettensis*. On the seal of Virginia the only words are *Sic Semper Tyrannis*. On the obverse side of the seal of the United States the only words are *E Pluribus Unum*, and on the reverse side, *which has never been cut*, the only words are *Annuit Cœptis Novus Ordo Seclorum, MDCCLXXVI*. Every word on those three seals is a foreign word, or a mongrel word, like *Massachusettensis*, the use of which manifests a desire by Massachusetts to Latinize her name. If the General Assembly is to be condemned for the use of foreign words in prescribing the emblems and devices and motto for the Great Seal of the State of Missouri, these other fine old commonwealths and the Government of the United States are likewise to be condemned. She was but following in their footsteps. If she chose the language of feudalism, they went farther into the ancient past and chose the words of a classical language—except Massachusetts, which in an attempt to be classical created for her name a mongrel word that is found in no language ever spoken on the earth—the word *Massachusettensis*, which is neither Latin, nor English, nor Indian, but a mere monstrosity.

It would be a mistake to say that the language of this law is not the language of democracy. It is the language of feudalism, but the men who framed it and the men who accepted it were as profoundly democratic in their sentiments as any of us. They followed in the paths laid out by the older states, and used the language of heraldry, but that the stilted words they employed to express the aspirations of the young commonwealth would manifest a leaning towards aristocratic or autocratic feudalism never occurred to them. A better view would be that they used words which they considered the dignified language of a true and orderly democracy—the ornate language

of heraldry as it had prevailed for hundreds of years in all modern European nations.

The act was not properly printed in the Laws of 1821. One clause as there printed reads "or a cloud proper." If the framer of the act had properly written those words the printer did not know what the word "or" meant, but supposed it was a disjunctive conjunction. It means *golden*, and should have been printed in italics and followed by a comma. The act was printed in the Revised Statutes of 1825, and there the clause appears as "*or, a cloud proper.*" Then the act dropped out of view for sixty years, and did not again appear in the Revised Statutes until 1889, when Hon. Samuel C. Major, chairman of the Revision Commission, and Hon. A. A. Lesueur, Secretary of State, brought it to light, and caused it to be inserted in the Revised Statutes of 1889, but strange to say the clause was there printed "or a cloud proper," as it had been in the Laws of 1821. But the error was corrected in the Revised Statutes of 1899, and the act has subsequently been correctly printed in the Revised Statutes of 1909 and 1919. The Constitution of 1820 declared that "the seal of state, with such emblems and devices as shall be directed by law, shall not be subject to change." The Constitution of 1865 used language somewhat clearer and more specific and distinctly said that the "emblems and devices thereof shall not be subject to change;" and the Constitution of 1875 not only said the same, but says the emblems and devices "heretofore prescribed by law" shall not be subject to change. The correct printing of the clause "*or, a cloud proper*" in the Revised Statutes of 1899 and in the subsequent revisions was not a change. It was based on the correct printing of the act in the Revised Statutes of 1825. That was authority enough, if any were needed. But in fact there was no change in either substance or meaning; it was simply the correction of an error—an error in printing—an error which scholars would quickly recognize—an error which writers conveniently lay upon the shoulders of printers by pronouncing them "typographical errors." The words, "*For the crest over a helmet full faced, grated with six bars, or a cloud proper,*" are nonsense. They mean that six bars are a cloud proper. They mean that the helmet was to be grated

with six bars, or a cloud proper. But if made to read, "*For the crest, over a helmet full-faced, grated with six bars, or, a cloud proper, from which ascends a star argent,*" they are full of meaning. They would then mean that the helmet was to be golden in color, and that over it was to be a cloud in natural color, and that ascending from the cloud was to be a silver star. If the word "*or*" is considered an adjective modifying helmet the meaning becomes clear; unless it is so considered, the clause is not only confusing, but absurd; it would be absurd to say that a helmet grated with six bars is a cloud proper. The revisers of the statutes did right in making the words express the meaning intended, and that they did simply by putting a comma after the word *or* and printing the word in italics. The word has always been of frequent use in heraldry. When so used it is not a conjunction, but has an established meaning, and that meaning is "yellow or gold color," and in printing or drawing or engraving it is represented by small dots equally spaced. So in the explanation of the words and phrases of the Act of 1822 it will be assumed that the correct reading of the clause is "over a helmet . . . .*or, a cloud proper, from which ascends a star argent,*" and that the act is correctly reproduced in Section 11608 of the Revised Statutes of 1919.

The technical words used in this law prescribing the devices and emblems that it required to be emblazoned on the Great Seal will now be defined or explained, and following the definitions or going along with them will be stated the noble sentiments they were intended to portray or pictorially express.

The word "Arms" as there used does not mean guns or swords or other instruments of war; it is a word of heraldry, and means devices adopted by governments as marks or emblems of authority or official dignity. It means an armorial device designed to express by appropriate symbols the character and aspirations of a people in their governmental capacity.

The word "pale" is applicable only to a shield or escutcheon, which in heraldry was not usually circular, but a broad field with perpendicular sides or edges. A *pale* is a broad vertical stripe in an escutcheon, equally distant from its two edges and occupying one-third of it. The word is akin to

*stake* or *paling*, but in heraldry it usually meant a stripe bounded by two vertical lines, the distance between them being equal to the distance between either of them and the outer edge of the escutcheon, which therefore was divided vertically into three equal parts or stripes and thereby was "parted per pale." In the actual construction of the Great Seal, the field or escutcheon was not "parted per pale." Instead, the shield is divided into two equal parts by a single vertical line. The parts are not stripes, but half circles. But that this was what the framers of the law understood the words "parted per pale" to mean is shown by the "Explanation" that went along with its enactment, in which it is said: "The arms of the State of Missouri and of the United States empaled together, yet separated by a pale, denote the connection existing between the two governments."

The word *escutcheon* is not used in the law, but is necessarily implied, for the shield on which the armorial bearings are depicted or displayed is always called the "escutcheon" in heraldry. That it was by the law intended to be a circular field is shown by its requirement that the arms were to be "within a band."

The surface or ground of the escutcheon or shield is called the *field*. The upper part of the field is called the *chief*, and the lower part the *base*, and the sides or pales *dexter* and *sinister*. *Dexter* means the right half of the field, the side on the observer's left, and *sinister* means the left half, or the side on the observer's right. While *dexter* in heraldry means the right, it also means honest and sincere and auspicious of good omen, and *sinister* also means sour and ominous; and it was not accidental or without significance that in the arms of the United States an olive branch is held in the eagle's dexter foot and a sheaf of arrows in the sinister foot, and that on the Missouri seal the arms of Missouri are depicted on the dexter pale.

*Tincture* is a necessary element of the field; the ground or field of the escutcheon was always imbued or impregnated with color. In heraldry tincture refers to the metals (colors) used in emblazoning the emblems and the two metals almost universally employed are gold (*or*) and silver (*argent*). The Missouri

law did not expressly prescribe a tincture for either the dexter or sinister side of the field, but it contemplated that certain colors would appear on the sinister side in the reproduction of the arms of the United States (the colors of the flag), and that certain other colors would appear on the dexter side, by the use of the words *gules*, or, *azure* and *argent*.

*Gule* means *red*. *Gules* are small parallel vertical lines tinctured *red*. The Missouri law required that such *gules* should appear on the dexter side of the field, but it also seems to define *gules* as a white or grizzly bear: it said for "*gules*, the white or grisly bear of Missouri." It did not say that the field should be red; but again the "Explanation" comes forward to supply that interpretation: it said: "The color of the *shield* is red and denotes hardness and valor."

*Passant* means walking, and *guardant* (properly spelt *gardant*) means *on guard*, with the head turned slightly towards the observer; and *passant guardant* meant that the bear was to be depicted on the seal as walking with the head facing forward or in front and turned slightly towards the observer.

*Proper* means represented in its natural color. *Proper* in that part of the law referring to the bear meant that the bear was to be depicted in the bear's natural color. In the words "a cloud proper" it meant that the cloud was to be depicted on the seal in the natural color of a cloud. What is the color of a cloud? The prescription that over the helmet was to be "a cloud proper" and that the constellation of twenty-three smaller stars was to be "surrounded by a cloud proper" was flexible, and permitted the cloud to be depicted as dark blue, blue, grey, golden, or even white.

*Chief* meant the upper third of the field. *Engrailed* meant *indented* with small concave curves, or bordered with a ring of dots, like the rim of a silver dollar.

Therefore the words "*gules*, the white or grizzly bear of Missouri, *passant guardant*, proper on a chief engrailed" meant that in the upper third of the dexter side of the circular field was to be depicted a white or grizzly bear, walking, but on guard, the head *affronte* or turned towards the observer, and that this *chief* or upper third was to be crossed by parallel vertical *red* lines, and that the rim of the circular field was to be bordered



by *indented* concave curves or by engrailed *dots*. To have followed the technical meaning of these words in the execution of the seal would have been impossible, and would have resulted in an absurdity—a white bear in the upper third of the field and crossed with numerous vertical red lines. The state officers gave to the words a more practical and a more sensible interpretation.

For convenience the words of the first part of the law are here again quoted. They are: "*Arms*, parted per pale, on the dexter side; *gules*, the white or grisly bear of Missouri, *passant guardant*, proper, on a chief engrailed; *azure*, a crescent *argent*; on the sinister side, *argent*, the arms of the United States, the whole within a band inscribed with the words 'United we stand, divided we fall'."

In the actual production of the metallic seal, the words "*arms*, parted per pale" were interpreted to mean that the escutcheon was to be a circular field, and that the field was to be divided into two equal parts by a single vertical line, and on the left side of the field was to be depicted the arms of the United States, consisting of an eagle with uplifted wings, with arrows clutched in the toes of the left foot and an olive branch in the toes of the right foot, and with a segment of the flag of the United States emblazoned on the eagle's breast and crossed by vertical stripes alternately white and red. At least, William G. Pettus, who was Secretary of State and was acquainted with the language of heraldry and of course superintended the construction of the seal, and the artificers who actually made it, so interpreted these words, and their interpretation, whether or not technically accurate, must now be accepted as final, and as unalterable ever since the devices were chosen, since the Constitution, then and now, says that the emblems and devices shall never be subject to change.

The Great Seal as preserved in the office of the Secretary of State gives almost no hint at all of a flag across the eagle's breast or body, but seals built into tiling floors or engraved on tablets usually distinctly show the flag, and its colors, but rarely the right number of stripes. On the obverse side of seal of the United States (adopted in 1782) there are six red stripes and seven white ones; the most of the imitation



seals of Missouri have five red stripes and four white ones, or a less number, or none at all.

The law said that the bear should be depicted "on a chief engrailed." It is not depicted on the *chief*. It is depicted on the *base* of the dexter side of the circular field, and a crescent is depicted on the chief, or upper third. \*

The bear depicted on the Great Seal is not made to appear as either "white or grizzly." (In the original law the word is "grisly," which is a word meaning *horrible* or *loathsome*. It is not likely that the framers of the law meant to use that word. It is more likely that the word was misspelled). No metallic seal could make the bear appear as white or grizzly. If the bear were constructed of silver or aluminum, it would not appear to be white or grizzly when the seal is impressed upon paper. Besides, the shape of the bear shows that it is not a grizzly, or a Canadian white bear. It is doubtful if there was in Missouri a hundred years ago a native "white or grizzly bear of Missouri." Missouri bears were usually brown or black, and if white or grizzly bears were seen here they most likely had wandered here from their far-away native home. The author of the law seemed to be uncertain whether white or grizzly bears existed in this State, and he therefore added the word "proper," which was a saving word, and meant that the bear was to be depicted in its natural color, and the bear depicted in the center field of the Great Seal is the native brown bear of Missouri.

Nor does the circular field of the Great Seal now appear to have ever been *engrailed*. No engrailment of the escutcheon appears on any seal, whether it be a reproduction on printed paper or on tablets. The border of the field is always made to appear as perfectly smooth, with no dots or indented curves. But on the Great Seal there is a marked attempted engrailment as a border for the *entire* seal. It is a distinct border inclosing *all* the devices contemplated by the law, those that have been explained above, and those yet to be explained—the supporters, the stars, the motto, the Roman numerals. The law contemplated that the engrailment would border the rim of the central field, and would join up against the inner side of the band on which were to be inscribed the words, "United we stand," etc.

The law said "on a chief engrailed," and that meant that the *chief* in which is the bear in the circular field was to be engrailed, and the word "engrailed" means indented with small concave curves or bordered by a ring of dots. The word "engrailed" was not ignored in the construction of the Great Seal, but the engrailment was not placed where the law contemplated it would be placed. Nor is it strictly an engrailment; it is an ornate *raised* ring or rope on which are numerous raised dots; neither the ring nor the dots are *indented*. But it is difficult to perceive how this prescription of the law could have been strictly followed. It is difficult to perceive how the *chief* could have been engrailed. The circular field was to be inclosed "within a band," and in the metallic seal the field and band would necessarily be on a level, the field and the band being connected together or molded into each other at their edges, and it would seem to be almost impossible that the rim of the field or chief could have been bordered with indented concave curves or engrailed dots. It is difficult to perceive how a more artistic execution of the word "engrailed" could have been accomplished. This engrailment appears only on the Great Seal. There is no engrailment on any reproduction of the seal for use in books or in seals built into floors and tablets. The artificers of those seals seem to have concluded that the requirement that the chief be engrailed could not be artistically executed.

Neither are parallel vertical red lines depicted on the circular field of the Great Seal or any other seal. In the actual construction of seals the word *gules* has not been entirely ignored; but instead of parallel vertical red lines, the *field* in which the bear is walking is depicted as *red*. That perhaps was the idea intended by the word, but whether or not that was the intention the word has always been interpreted in the actual construction of the seal to mean a *red field*, and in some seals the field is a fiery red and in others is more appropriately a dark-red or brown.

But in the Great Seal the bear in the central field is depicted as *passant gardant*, and in that respect the law could not well have been more faithfully observed. And whatever

else may be said in criticism of the bear, the bear depicted in the center field is a Missouri bear.

The words "*azure*, a crescent argent" meant that somewhere on the dexter side of the escutcheon was to be depicted a silver new moon in a blue sky. The color *azure* implies vigilance, perseverance, justice and sincere motive, and was chosen to indicate the character of the people, and their steadfast adherence to their social and governmental aspirations as expressed in the inscription on the band and the motto inscribed on the scroll.

In heraldry the *crescent* is borne on the shield by the second son of the feudal lord, and possibly the crescent was made a part of the escutcheon in order to indicate that Missouri was the second state (Louisiana being the first) formed out of territory not originally within the territorial limits of the United States. It is more probable, however, that it was chosen to indicate that a new state, like a new moon in a far-off blue sky, was to be seen in the West, and was growing and enlarging with each succeeding day.

The law said the bear should be depicted "on a chief." That literally meant, in the language of heraldry, that the bear should be placed upon the upper third of the field, and that *gules* or red vertical lines should cross the field. The two requirements conflicted. To have depicted a bear *passant* on the upper third of the field, and a new moon and a blue sky under the bear, would have been incongruous. It would have been ridiculous. Bears walk under the sky, not above it. The makers of the seal put the sky and the moon in the *chief*, and the bear in the *base*, and a red field is far more artistic than would have been incongruous red lines crossing the bear's body vertically.

The sentence "United we stand, divided we fall" inscribed on the band was not framed by the author of the law. It was borrowed or appropriated. It had been in current use since the days of the Revolution. It is a part of the seal of Kentucky, and aside from the large words "Commonwealth of Kentucky" are the only words that appear on the seal of that state, and in consequence it is frequently referred to as "the motto of Kentucky." It is not the motto of Missouri. The

law specifically says that our "motto" is the Latin sentence, *Salus populi suprema lex esto*. The words "United we stand, divided we fall" were intended to express our social and governmental policy, internally, and in our relations to our sister states. It was meant to declare to all the world that our people are united and harmonious in their relations with each other and in every governmental undertaking, and also united in their alliance with the other states, indicated by the band surrounding the arms of the United States, and that our motives are sincere and steadfast, indicated by the azure sky also included within the band.

In 1916 Dr. Clarence W. Alvord, then dean of the Department of History of the University of Illinois, who wrote valuable books pertaining to the history of the Mississippi Valley and was a historian of the first rank, wrote me the results of his extensive research for the origin of this patriotic sentence. The following is an extract from his letter:

"The origin of the phrase comes from Revolutionary times. John Dickinson wrote a song called the 'Patriot's Appeal,' which was published in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* of July 4, 1776. The particular stanza is as follows:

"Then join hands, brave Americans all—  
By uniting we stand, by dividing we fall;  
In so righteous a cause we may hope to succeed,  
For Heaven approves every generous deed."

"The above was parodied by the Tories, and this brought forth a counter parody by George Pope Morris called 'The Flag of Our Union.' In this the quotation assumes its present form. The stanza is as follows:

"A song for our banner! The watchword recall  
Which gave the Republic her station:  
*United we stand, divided we fall!*  
It made and preserves us a nation."

So that phrase was really born on the day the Declaration of Independence was signed; at least, in its essence, it was published on that day in a Pennsylvania newspaper, and it

had been incorporated into the seal of Kentucky nearly thirty years before Missouri appropriated it. The fact that it was required to be emblazoned on our seal shows that the Legislature who framed and adopted the law stood with the heroic people who had won American independence, and that they regarded harmonious unity as a propitious assurance of internal prosperity and national security. It ought also to be of patriotic interest that these words "united we stand, divided we fall" do not appear on the seal of any other state except Kentucky. They do not even appear upon the seal of Pennsylvania, where they originated.

The next words of the law are:

"For the crest over a helmet full-faced, grated with six bars, or, a cloud proper, from which ascends a star *argent*, and above it a constellation of twenty-three smaller stars *argent* on an azure field, surrounded by a cloud proper. Supporters on each side, a white or grizzly bear of Missouri, rampant, guardant proper, standing on a scroll, inscribed with the motto, *Salus populi suprema lex esto*, and under the scroll the numerical letters MDCCCXX."

A crest is a device above an escutcheon. It is not a part of the escutcheon, but a separate ornament placed above it. It is an appendage to commemorate an important event, and its bearings are usually a garland or a wreath of clouds or a chaplet of laurel or oak leaves and acorns.

A helmet is a support of the crest, and usually indicates the rank of the bearer. It is an armorial head-piece, with attachments or projections to guard the bearer. The words just quoted contemplate that it would be a part of the crest.

The helmet was to be a circular appendage attached to the band of the escutcheon. It was to be in shape like a head-piece. It was to be golden or yellow in color. Its visible face or front side was to be grated, or divided by six bars or grills. If one will think of an ordinary fire-grate he will form a somewhat correct idea of what was meant by "a helmet, full-faced, grated with six bars."

"Over the helmet" was to be a cloud in its proper or natural color, and ascending out of this cloud was to be a silver star, and above this star was to be a constellation of twenty-three

smaller silver stars, and this constellation was to be surrounded by a cloud in its *proper* or natural color.

This part of the law is more easily understood than that which precedes it. Some of the preceding expressions required interpretation; the ideas contained in them were not specific prescriptions, to be literally or technically observed in the actual construction of the seal; but the ideas imbedded in them could be preserved and portrayed by modifications, some slight, some radical. But this part of the law contained more definite prescriptions, and where they were definite there was to be no variance or departure. The color of the helmet was prescribed; it was to be *or*, or golden. The number of bars or grates or grills on the face of the helmet was prescribed: there were to be six. The cloud was not to be attached to the helmet; it was to be "*over* a helmet." The color of the cloud was not prescribed, except that it must be a cloud in its natural color; it was to be *proper*, which meant that it was to be represented in its natural color. The makers of the seal could choose a cloud of any color they wished, provided it was a cloud in its natural color, and that might be golden or blue or dark blue. The number of stars was prescribed; there were to be twenty-four. One of them was to appear to be ascending out of a cloud. Its size was not prescribed, except that the others were to be *smaller*. Above the ascending star was to be a constellation of "smaller stars," and the number is prescribed; there were to be twenty-three of them. The constellation was to be surrounded by another cloud, but the color of the cloud is not prescribed, except that it was to have its proper or natural color. The color of all stars was prescribed; they were to be *argent*, or silver.

This part of the seal is rich in beautiful and historical suggestions.

The helmet indicates preparation for service. The one emblazoned on the seal is assigned to sovereignty only, and it was intended to mean that the Governor in attaching his signature to an official document would be acting for the whole state. The helmet was to be an assurance to every person into whose hands the document came that behind it was a virile

commonwealth, organized and panoplied with energy and authority.

Missouri was the twenty-fourth state. The ascending star was to be Missouri, and the constellation of twenty-three smaller stars was the Union of States into which Missouri had only shortly before been admitted, and this part of the crest was to commemorate Missouri's entrance into the sisterhood of states. The star ascending from a cloud shows Missouri mounting her difficulties and taking her rank among the other states of the Union—not as an insignificant state, but one of great size and brilliance. The "cloud proper" (whatever its natural color) was probably meant to suggest the mists and prejudices which Missouri encountered and with which she had contended when she first applied for admission. She was to be represented as an ascending star, and ascending out of cloud *proper*, to indicate that the mists and prejudices were clearing away, and that she was rolling into view out of the maligned West as a great commonwealth.

The cloud surrounding the constellation indicated that the other states were also invested with difficulties and mists—but natural ones—as natural as clouds, and no more to be considered discouragements than rain or snow. And the difficulties hid away in the womb of the future would be the same to all the twenty-four states, for both clouds were to be "proper" and the twenty-three stars were to be of the same size, and those things meant that whatever difficulties and discouragements confronted any of them would alike be natural to all the others and were to be expected. All the stars were to be clustered together to indicate a sisterhood of states, and the Missouri star was to be the largest and to be given the most conspicuous place, not as an expression of superiority or egotism, but to indicate that the seal was to be *her* seal, and its emblems and inscriptions and motto were to be expressive of *her* aspirations, and that while her people loved the Union and all the members of the sisterhood equally they loved their own state more than they did any other.

All the stars were to be *argent* or silver, or white, and thereby indicate that the purposes and motives of each of the



twenty-four states were acknowledged and asserted to be pure and good.

The *supporters*, or protectors of the helmet, and of the escutcheon to which the helmet was to be attached, were to be a "white or grizzly bear of Missouri, on each side, rampant, guardant *proper*, standing on a scroll, inscribed with the motto, *Salus populi suprema lex esto.*" *Rampant* simply meant *standing on his hind legs* and *guardant* meant being *on guard*, and *proper* meant that the bears were to be depicted in their natural color; and the *supporters* meant that the native sons of Missouri would stand, with watchful eyes, for the protection of all the twenty-four states, and that the welfare or happiness or prosperity of her people was to be their supreme governmental policy and the shibboleth of their political faith. The *supporters* indicate that while we support ourselves and stand back of the official acts of the Governor, we also support the Government of the United States, represented by the arms emblazoned on the sinister side of the central field. The two supporters—one on each side; facing each other; both exactly alike; both clutching the band on which were inscribed the words, "United we stand, divided we fall," and inclosing the arms of the United States and the arms of Missouri; the left foot of one pointing to the arms of the United States; the right foot of the other pointing to the arms of Missouri—were intended to mean that the support and protection of the State Government and of the Federal Government would be matters of like and equal concern to the people of the commonwealth.

The grizzly bear is noted for his prodigious size, his strength, his courage, and the protection of his young. He is not a native of Missouri, but he was and is a native of the mountainous regions in which the Missouri River and many of her tributaries have their beginning, and it was perhaps due to these qualities of the grizzly and the rise of the great river, which flows through the first state created out of territory which lies wholly west of the Mississippi, that the law named this bear, instead of the native brown bear of Missouri, as the supporter.

There is probably another reason. The extensive fur trade and numerous explorations into the upper reaches of the



great river had aroused a lively interest in the Plains and the mountainous regions beyond, and a peculiar attachment for them was forming. General William H. Ashley, the greatest American fur trader with the exception of Jacob Astor, was Lieutenant-Governor and president of the Senate. The Missouri Territory extended, or had been supposed to extend, from the Mississippi to the dividing line of the Rocky Mountains—the line beyond which the waters ran to the Pacific Ocean. It may be that in these things is to be found one explanation for the choice of the grizzly bear as the supporters—the choice indicating that the great West was *one*, and that unity of purpose existed in upholding the noble sentiment expressed by the fine motto inscribed on the scroll on which the bears were to stand—a sentiment extending from the Mississippi and the mouth of the Missouri to her head waters.

The motto, *Salus populi suprema lex esto*, inscribed on the scroll, was borrowed from the great Roman orator. It is to be found in exact words in Cicero's *De Legibus* 3, 3 (*M. T. Ciceronis, Pars Tertia, Opera Philosophica, De Legibus, Liber Tertius*, III). The book which I hold in my hands is volume 5 of *Bibliotheca Classica Latina*, and the subtitle on page 740 is *M. T. Ciceronis De Legibus, Liber Tertius*, and the motto is found on page 758, and in full is: *Ollis salus populi suprema lex esto*. The word *ollis* is simply a word of emphasis and probably means *always and everywhere*—either that, or it should be ignored. It was a colloquial word, rather than classical Latin. Sometimes it meant *proverb*; and if so, then the sentence would be: A proverb is, *Salus populi suprema lex esto*.

The word *Salus* was of frequent use among the Latins. Primarily it was a word of social intercourse and household use, but it is to be found in many of their books. It meant *welfare*, but it also meant *health, safety, prosperity, happiness, and wholesome life*. The word *lex* means *law*, but it means something more than written statutes; it means as well the controlling principle in governmental affairs, and the rule by which the people would be governed in their community life and their industrial activities. The motto is usually translated, *Let the welfare of the people be the supreme law*, and that is

a correct translation. That is the meaning that lies on the surface of the words. But if sounded to their depths they express the magnanimous aspirations of unselfish democracy. The motto was meant to declare that the powers of the State should always be used to conserve and promote the prosperity, the safety, the happiness, the welfare of the people, and that this wholesome aspiration should guide and control all governmental activities, and become a fixed and unchangeable policy, as unchangeable as the Latin language has become fixed and unalterable. It is a noble motto, and certainly no other state has a better one.

Underneath the scroll were to be inscribed "the numerical letters MDCCCXX." The act of Congress dated March 6, 1820, declared that "the inhabitants of that portion of the Missouri Territory included within the boundaries hereinafter designated, be, and they are hereby, authorized to form for themselves a constitution and state government, and to assume such name as they deem proper; and the said state, when formed, shall be admitted into the Union, upon an equal footing with the original states, in all respects whatsoever." The people of Missouri accepted this act as meaning what it clearly said, and considered the state admitted by it, and during the summer of 1820 framed and promulgated a constitution, elected a Governor and a General Assembly, enacted laws and set in orderly operation a state government. But the constitution they framed had to pass through the fiery ordeal of a bitter sectional controversy, and in consequence the final admission of Missouri into the Union was not formally proclaimed until August 10, 1821. But when the General Assembly, which met in its second session in November, 1821, undertook to enact a law "prescribing the emblems and devices of the Great Seal of the State of Missouri," they preferred to adhere to the date of the formation of the state government, and hence they prescribed that the date, to be expressed on the seal in Roman numerals, should be 1820, and those numerals were inscribed on the seal, and can never be changed until the Constitution is first changed.

The last words of the law are these:

"And the great seal of this state shall be so engraved as to present by its impression, the device of the armorial achievement aforesaid, surrounded by a scroll with the words 'The Great Seal of the State of Missouri' in Roman capitals, which seal shall be in circular form and not more than two and a half inches in diameter."

The seal in the office of the Secretary of State is in circular form, it is exactly two and a half inches in diameter, and it is surrounded by a scroll upon which are the words "THE GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF MISSOURI" in capital letters. For purposes of identification, as a part of an attempted reproduction of the seal in books, these words are made to appear on an encircling scroll. But they and the scroll are almost uniformly omitted from seals built into floors and tables or painted upon rich curtains—and properly omitted, because such seals are not intended to authenticate an official act—they are not designed for "impression" upon paper or official documents of any kind.

Let us now see how far the prescriptions for "the devices of the armorial achievement" have been observed in the actual construction of seals.

In doing so it will help us to keep in mind "the arms of the United States." On June 20, 1782, the Continental Congress enacted a law prescribing the devices for a coat of arms, and that law has never been changed. The devices on the obverse side were to be an American eagle, with a shield upon its breast showing thirteen stripes, alternately silver and red, holding in the toes of the right foot an olive branch and in the toes of the left foot a sheaf of arrows, and in its beak a scroll or ribbon inscribed with the Latin words, *E Pluribus Unum*; and surmounting the eagle was to be a group of thirteen stars appearing through a cloud, to indicate the emergence of a new nation into the world. No other words or devices were required to appear on the obverse side, and these requirements have been faithfully observed, and the seal or "arms of the United States" has never been changed. The eagle is a bald eagle—and a spread eagle—and the olive branch is held in the toes of the right foot and the sheaf of arrows in the

toes of the left foot. There are six red stripes and seven white stripes upon the eagle's breast—which of course is meant to depict in miniature the flag. The scroll held in the eagle's beak has on its right half the words *E Pluribus*, the part on the left the single word *Unum*. Over the eagle's head is a circlet of clouds in the shape of a Grecian garland, and inside of the circlet and apparently rising out of the clouds are thirteen silver stars of equal size—the then number of states. Inside the garland and between it and the stars are numerous golden rays emanating from the stars.

The law of Missouri contemplated that in the actual construction of the seal there would be one star above the helmet, ascending, out of a cloud, and above it a constellation of twenty-three smaller stars, surrounded by a cloud. These requirements have rarely been observed.

In the "Great Seal" in the office of the Secretary of State there are twenty-four stars, but apparently they are all the same size. There are three rows of them—eleven in the top row, nine in the middle row, and four in the bottom row—but it is only with the most minute observation that anything can be discovered in the size or location of any one of them to distinguish it from any of the others. The stars are above the helmet, but no one of them appears to be ascending out of a cloud; nor is there any cloud above the helmet or elsewhere. The nearest approach to a cloud is a flowery branch, consisting mostly of leaves, extending outwardly from each side of the helmet. The helmet is grated with six bars—the correct number—and is strongly attached to the band, on which are inscribed the words "United we stand, divided we fall." The arms of the United States appear to be faithfully depicted; the eagle is an American eagle with spreading wings; above the eagle's head is the cluster of thirteen stars; the olive branch appears to be in the toes of the eagle's right foot, and the sheaf of arrows in the toes of the left foot; the shield upon the eagle's breast is flat, but there is no mistaking its purpose. But neither olive branch nor arrows can be distinctly discerned, because this part of the seal is now much worn, nor can any stripes on the shield be discovered. Of course the scroll or ribbon in the eagle's beak is not depicted on our seal, because

the words *E Pluribus Unum* thereon are not a device or emblem, but an inscription or motto, and in reproducing the arms of the United States on our seal it is only the emblems and devices of those arms that are depicted—as is true everywhere. The *supporters*, their fore feet securely clutching the band, are powerful bears and are emphatically *rampant*, and their hind feet stand firmly on the scroll on which is inscribed the Latin motto. The *band* is made to appear as a broad belt, its ends being fastened together by a buckle—a gratuitous and incongruous device not hinted at in the law. A band around a man's waist may be a belt, but a band around a metallic armorial could scarcely be considered a belt. The buckle does not have any appropriate place in the seal, and is an incongruous appendage.

In the large seal on the floor of the rotunda of the Capitol there are twenty-five stars—a large star over the helmet, and above and around it twenty-four smaller ones. The stars are not *argent*, or silver, and the largest one does not ascend out of a cloud, but in relative size and position and shape they are well depicted. That is a bronze seal, and every device emblazoned upon it is given the same color. The new moon, the bears, the sky, the dexter side, the arms of the United States, even the shield upon the eagle's breast, are all bronze. The bear in the dexter side of the circular field is neither *passant*, nor *gardant*; on the contrary, he is depicted as standing still, his head hanging down, looking on the ground, half asleep, ready to lie down. The arms of the United States are depicted in an unwarranted and extraordinary fashion; there is no circlet of thirteen stars above the eagle's head emerging out of a cloud, but on the contrary the feathers of the head and neck and upper body of the eagle rise to great height and stand up like quills or sticks, and look much like the head-dress of an Indian warrior, angry, painted and prepared for war. It is possible that these quills were meant to represent the rays of the sun, and that the spread eagle was flying out of the sun; but there is no sun on the seal or coat of arms of the United States. In that seal there are friendly rays extending outward from the thirteen stars inclosed within the circlet of cloud, but they are not sun rays, nor is there any sun. These quills of an Indian

head-dress—or if they were meant to be rays of the sun—are an anomaly, and a perversion of the arms of the United States. The olive branch and the arrows are reversed; the olive branch is in the toes of the left foot, and the sheaf of arrows in the talons of the right. There are eight stripes or grills on the shield on the eagle's breast, all the same color. There are no clouds on this seal. There is a long projecting branch of some kind of a tree, with large leaves, to which the helmet is attached, but over the helmet is no cloud, and the large star is not depicted as ascending out of a cloud, "proper" or otherwise, and the constellation of twenty-four stars is not "on an azure field" and is not surrounded by a cloud. The broad band around the escutcheon is a bronze belt, and the incongruous buckle fastens together its meeting ends. The *supporters* are distinctly *rampant*; they stand firmly upon the scroll, upon which is inscribed the motto in plain letters. Their bodies are the bodies of bears, but their heads are not; their heads and faces look more like those of a cat. The mechanical mechanism of this seal is so excellent that, in spite of its many departures from the prescriptions of the law, it makes a good impression upon the casual observer.

The seal in the tiling floor of the small vestibule room of the Supreme Court Building has one large silver star, and above and clustered about it twenty-three smaller silver stars—the correct number. In this seal the eagle is a bald eagle, with white head and neck and white feathers under the wings; and it is the bald eagle that is represented on the arms of the United States, though not as distinctly such as the eagle in this seal is depicted to be. The olive branch is in the toes of the right foot, and the sheaf of arrows is clutched by the talons of the left. On the breast of the eagle is the shield, with four red stripes and five white ones. The bear in the dexter side of the circular field is a grizzly bear, *passant* and somewhat *gardant*, and walking in a *red* field, but it is only in color, and not in size or shape, that he is depicted as a grizzly. Above the red field a silver *crescent* is hanging in a blue sky. The *helmet* is grated with four bars (instead of six), is golden, and underneath it is a golden basinet or neck, and underneath the basinet is a broader golden camail, which is

attached to and is a part of the band inclosing the escutcheon, and from each side of the basinet projects a long golden Gothic decoration, in the shape of a vine, separating into different branches, and lying across an azure sky. The band is a belt, with a black buckle on the dexter side, and a loose end of the belt comes from under its upper edge and hangs downward far below its lower edge, ending in a black tip or border. The Missouri star is large, is above the helmet, is not made to appear as ascending out of a separate cloud, but it and the constellation of twenty-three smaller stars ascend out of a dark-blue cloud, and surrounding this cloud is a lighter blue cloud, and underneath these clouds is a pale blue sky, which extends around and under them and downward to the camail of the helmet. The *supporters* are two powerful brown bears, emphatically *rampant*. Above the eagle, within the band, is what seems to be a sun-flower—with a large black center, surrounded by a white calyx, from which emanate golden petals. But this strange emblem may have been intended to represent the sun—although we would not expect the sun to be depicted with a large black circular center. It is more likely that it was meant to represent the cluster of thirteen stars that appears above the head of the eagle in the arms of the United States, but if so it is an exceedingly irregular imitation of that beautiful emblem.

There is some sort of a similar device on many seals built into tiling floor or tablet or painted on cloth, and occasionally it appears in printed books. In them it is usually either a distorted device or a downright interloper. There is a possible excuse for the incongruity. The cluster of thirteen stars in the arms of the United States is indistinctly depicted on our Great Seal. Unless one knew what that device was intended to be he would not take it to be a group of stars appearing out of a cloud. It is only by the closest scrutiny that it can be discerned to be what it really is. It appears more like a sun than a cluster of stars. It would be easy to mistake it for a sun or a sun-flower. If the artificers of these tiling and tablet seals studied only the Great Seal and the law they might easily have been misled to commit this incongruity. But if they had studied the seal of the United States they would not have made



such a mistake. Then they would have known what was meant by the words "on the sinister side *argent*, the arms of the United States" used in the law. On the seal of the United States this group of thirteen stars, appearing through a cloud, is clearly outlined, and, unless it be the shield, is its most beautiful device—indicating the emergence of a new nation out of a cloudy past.

On the outside south wall of the Federal Reserve Bank building in St. Louis is chiseled, "The Great Seal of the State of Missouri." Those words are clearly outlined on a broad band, which incloses the emblems and devices. The seal is at least five feet across. The arms of the State are as well outlined as could well be done in hard stone. The olive branch is held in the toes of the eagle's right foot, the sheaf of arrows in the toes of the left foot, and a circlet of cloud above the eagle's head incloses the thirteen stars. The arms of Missouri are far better depicted than is usually done. The bear in the dexter field is a Missouri bear, and the field is so shaded as to indicate a color somewhat different from the color of the rest of the stone. The supporter bears are too fat, but all three bears are emphatically gardant. Above the helmet is one large star, and above it a constellation of twenty-three smaller stars, but the only thing to indicate clouds are two long olive leaves extending, one on each side, outwardly from the basinet, or neck of the helmet—a kind of projection not approved, and rarely tolerated, in heraldry—but with this exception this seal is as nearly accurate as any to be found in Missouri.

A reproduction of the seal with one large star and twenty-three smaller stars is exceedingly rare. The Great Seal in the office of the Secretary of State contains the right number, but they are all of the same size. The seal in the tiling floor of the small vestibule of the Supreme Court Building contains the right number, and one is a large star, and the other twenty-three are smaller. But in the reproductions of the seal in books, on rich curtains, in tiling floors and on stone walls, the number of stars is usually twenty-two, and in a few of them twenty-five. I have never seen one that represents the large star as ascending out of a cloud "over a helmet;" in nearly all of them, in spite of the fact that the law said that "over a helmet" there was to be



"a cloud proper, from which ascends a star, *argent*," the cloud is made to appear as a feathery projection on each side of the helmet, or as a laurel garland, or limbs and leaves of some other tree, or as a flowery wreath underneath the helmet.

And the right number of stripes on the shield on the eagle's breast is equally rare. The number is rarely as many as nine; often there are three red and four white, or none at all.

No one can reasonably expect the different colors of the emblems and devices to appear in the reproduction of the seal in the usual book. To make the crescent appear on the printed page as a silver new moon, the *gules* as a red field, the stars as *argent*, the sky as blue, the clouds *proper*, the helmet as golden, and the shield with alternating red and white stripes, would require the page to be run through the press five times, and a different colored ink to be used for each impression, and that means not only great expense, but that the paper must be heavy, strong and of superior quality. But in building the seal into the tiling floors or tablets of great historic buildings, or in painting it upon rich curtains, the emblems should be depicted in the colors prescribed by the law, so that the noble sentiments they were chosen to emblazon to the world will be portrayed and accurately expressed.

The origin of the inscription on the band and the motto on the scroll has been stated. It has been shown above that the words, "United we stand, divided we fall" were of Revolutionary origin, and had entered into current use before the law directed them to be inscribed upon the band of the Great Seal. It has also been shown that the Latin motto was borrowed from the *De Legibus* of Marcus Tullius Cicero. (To be continued. In the April issue of the *Review*, Mr. Rader will consider the authorship of the law providing for and descriptive of the great seal of the State of Missouri.)

## HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

"History," said Carlyle, "is the essence of innumerable biographies." The dictum of the great essayist and historian is largely borne out in this issue of the *Review*. One-half of its articles and more than one-half of its pages of contributions deal with the lives of Missourians. Reading them leisurely and carefully, even a historian is impressed and feels grateful to the authors for having presented new viewpoints, unearthed new facts, and brought forward—it must be confessed—at least one almost forgotten master-builder of civilization.

How many educated and cultured citizens of Missouri know anything about George Engelmann? One per cent would be a very liberal number, perhaps absurdly liberal. Yet, George Engelmann's "clever tireless mind, more than that of any other American before him, has revealed the secrets of plant nature in the western world." If Dr. William G. Bek had never contributed a single fruit of his own mind to the state of his birth and rearing other than this scholarly monograph, I should hold him in grateful remembrance for having added to my education.

There is profit, also, in perusing Professor Mager's brief sketch of Barton and his feud with Benton. It is suggestive of a larger study of this "forgotten statesman." Barton was a Whig, an opponent, rival, and enemy of Benton, and has been left very much alone by writers. The minority leader suffers, not infrequently, oblivion. The field of Missouri political biography preceding the Civil war is one which might be labeled Bentoniana, with a book on Lewis F. Linn, scattering pamphlets, and a work on James S. Rollins (Blair more properly belonging to the war and post-war periods). Why no real biographical contribution on the political activity of David Barton, William H. Ashley, Henry S. Geyer, Edward Bates, and even Rollins, as far as pre-war politics is concerned? These men were outstanding, they were leaders of ability, they wielded influence, and their lives command attention.

The balanced manner of presentation and the poised and critical attitude of the author of "The Blairs and Fremont" have impressed me again with the value of history for enlightenment and entertainment. Dr. William E. Smith, the author, has re-oriented the study of these men as far as their Missouri environment is concerned. One feels less inclined to be infallible in passing judgment on the acts and so-called mistakes of the members of either family. If history makes anything clear, it is the fallacy of regarding the acts of great men or the problems of a great state or nation as simple things, easily explained, quickly solved, obvious even to him who runs. Perhaps, a few may be, but their small number only serve to strengthen the soundness of the opposite rule.

Hon. Perry S. Rader makes this especially clear in his detailed and lucid treatment of the history and authorship of "The Great Seal of the State of Missouri." This study has its peculiar problem, and problems, and certainly no one may deny their involved character after reading this outstanding monograph.

In his brief article on "The National Old Trails Road at Lexington," the author, Mr. B. M. Little, has done more than present merely an interesting paper. He has, for me, suggested the untilled, fertile field of the history of his city. I was first deeply impressed with this treasure house of our annals in compiling a paper on "Missouri in 1860." Lexington was the Athens and Piraeus of a pioneer western civilization. At that time its sobriquet was "The Athens of Missouri," and in trade and commerce, finance and transportation, it was a veritable giant. And still, some of the unthinking are tempted to say that the field of local history has been cleared! Sometimes, I am tempted to believe that local history is barely emerging from its pioneer stage and has laid down only the foundations of a culture from which during the next century will rise a structure housing the most fascinating and educational treasures of our people.

## APPRECIATION

I have enjoyed very much *The Missouri Historical Review*, as much of it is history that I am personally acquainted with and some of these days I may find time to pen some of my own reminiscences.—Henry W. Becker, St. Louis, Missouri, August 20, 1927.

*The Missouri Historical Review* is good and I take pleasure in putting it into the hands of as many of my friends as possible.—Mrs. Belle Duncan, Silex, Missouri, August 9, 1927.

*The Missouri Historical Review* contains much material of interest and value and is well edited.—A. T. Sweet, Fort Collins, Colorado, September 3, 1927.

The Society is doing a wonderful service for our State. The *Review* improves with each number.—Charles L. Henson, Mount Vernon, Missouri, August 15, 1927.

We can't afford to get along without the interesting *Review*. Keep the good work going.—North T. Gentry, Jefferson City, Missouri, August 10, 1927.

My work in the past eight years has left me little time for historical study, but I shall never lose interest in the Society which is giving such fine service to students of Missouri History.—Byron T. Johnson, Electra, Texas, September 4, 1927.

I want to add my praise to the excellent *Review* which the State Historical Society of Missouri is publishing quarterly. It is a credit to the state.—Thomas R. Gibson, Springfield, Missouri, August 3, 1927.

I cannot do without your magazine and always want to be with you in the Society whether a magazine is issued or not.—William Aull, Lexington, Missouri, September 14, 1927.

I cannot afford to miss a single copy of the *Review*—they are too valuable.—W. L. Skaggs, Paragould, Arkansas, October 10, 1927.

I have received much pleasure and a great deal of information from the *Review*, and I am greatly interested in your publication.—George M. Block, St. Louis, Missouri, October 13, 1927.

I am much interested in the Society, and in the cause you represent, and I am enjoying your publications.—C. J. Armstrong, Hannibal, Missouri, October 15, 1927.

I have been a resident now of California of upwards of twelve years, and the *Review* is becoming more interesting on each arrival.—John F. Imel, Los Angeles, California, October 20, 1927.

I have received the October, 1927, number of *The Missouri Historical Review*, all of whose pages were intensely interesting to me. I always read all of your contributions to the papers also.—Joe L. Moore, Commerce, Missouri, November 8, 1927.

Mrs. Howard and I have read the October, 1927, issue of the *Review* with pleasure and shall be much pleased to receive the future publications of this magazine.—F. A. Howard, Slater, Missouri, November 17, 1927.

I have just received the October, 1927, issue of the *Review*, and I assure you I have enjoyed reading its very interesting pages. Forty-two years absence from the old home State, twenty-seven of which have been spent in the tropics, has, quite naturally, dimmed my memory of boyhood events in the "homeland," therefore, I get a lot of enjoyment from reading the very interesting articles in the *Review*.—John L. Gay, U. S., District Attorney for Porto Rico, San Juan, December 16, 1927.

I find that the *Review* grows better each year and I cannot do without it.—Mrs. Wille C. Thomas, Carrollton, Missouri, January 20, 1928.

I enjoy each issue of the *Review* and am sending my check for the next four issues.—Miss Edith V. Minor, Clarksville, Missouri, January 23, 1928.

I certainly think *The Review* is one of the best magazines I have ever read and I wish to be placed on your membership list.—Paul R. Davis, New London, Missouri, January 31, 1928.

I have just received the January issue of the *Review* and I certainly enjoy reading it.—W. T. Bell, Stoutsville, Missouri, February 3, 1928.

I enjoy the *Review* a great deal and miss it when I am without it.—Selby Hanssen, Kansas City, Missouri, February 1, 1928.

Allow me to thank you for the splendid numbers of the *Review*; I appreciate your good work. The articles certainly are full of local interest.—Grace M. Sharp, Shreveport, Louisiana, February 3, 1928.

Please send me the January, 1928, issue of the *Review* as I enjoy reading the magazine more than anything else that comes to me.—H. G. Lawrence, Cameron, Missouri, February 9, 1928.

Dr. Howard and I have enjoyed the *Review* very much indeed.—Mrs. F. A. Howard, Slater, Missouri, February 16, 1928.

Being a subscriber to *The Missouri Historical Review*, I take very much interest in it, on account of the fact that I am a native Missourian myself, and I appreciate getting the *Review* very much as your articles are most interesting to me and so well edited.—William J. Rucker, Charlottesville, Virginia, April 6, 1928.

I just received the last issue of the *Review*; it is good and I like it.—James S. Hudson, St. Louis, Missouri, April 16, 1928.

I enjoy the articles in the *Review* very much and congratulate you on the manner in which the publication is prepared. I am especially interested in the diary which has been reproduced of Doniphan's expedition into Mexico, written by Richardson.—W. B. Rollins, Kansas City, Missouri, June 5, 1928.

I have been very much pleased and edified with several of the articles in the last *Review*. It gets more and more interesting.—T. H. B. Dunnegan, Bolivar, Missouri, September 6, 1928.

*The Missouri Historical Review* is more and more interesting with each number. I especially appreciate the magazine now that I am living in the Old Dominion.—P. F. Harman, Lynchburg, Virginia, September 12, 1928.

I have just received the October number of the *Review*, and am looking forward to several hours of pleasure in perusing the various articles therein.—Philip C. Tucker, Bradenton, Florida, September 24, 1928.

I have just received the October, 1928, issue of the *Review* and I find it improves with each year. No Missourian (or native) interested in the history of his state can afford to be without it.—W. L. Skaggs, Paragould, Arkansas, October 2, 1928.

Three "sittings" have proven insufficient to complete a thorough reading of the October issue of *The Missouri Historical Review*. This number is certainly well loaded.

The diary and the two collections of letters are very interesting features. The more of such material that can be found and printed the greater the service the *Review* is rendering to Missouri history.

That sociological study of the Salt River community gives one something to think about. It opens up the great problem of American agriculture which is much more than the costs and prices of wheat and corn.

"Missouri History Not Found in Textbooks," I believe, encourages the press of the State to give space to that type of material and thereby proves its worth besides being interesting to *Review* readers.—Walter B. Stevens, Burdick, Kansas, October 26, 1928.

#### IN RE "THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT IN MISSOURI"

This correction has been received from Mr. Charles E. Stokes of Los Angeles, California, a former Missourian:

"In the article, The Progressive Movement in Missouri, appearing in the *Review* of July, 1928, I find it stated that the Socialist Labor Party of Missouri in 1894 indorsed the principle of direct legislation. That four years later the People's party of Missouri took similar action; and in 1900 the Progressive People's party favored the initiative and referendum, and the Prohibition party of Missouri and the Single Tax League indorsed the initiative and referendum that same year.

"It is to correct the date as to time of the Missouri Prohibition party incorporating the initiative and referendum in its platform, that I am writing at this time. On the 30th day of May, 1894, at the Prohibition state convention held at Carrollton, I secured the insertion of a plank declaring for the initiative and referendum in the platform adopted at that time, which I think preceded the action of the Socialist Labor party, but may be mistaken about that."

## THESES ON MISSOURI

Theses accepted by the University of Missouri during the past year which deal with special phases of Missouri are as follows:

*Editorial Policy of the Missouri Intelligencer*, by J. Willard Ridings.

*The History of Woman Suffrage in Missouri, 1867-1901*, by Monia Cook Morris.

*The Beginnings of the Whig Party in Missouri, 1824-1840*, by Leota M. Newhard.

*Missouri's Interest in the Trans-Continental Railroad Movement, 1849-1855*, by Ethel Osborne.

*Place Names in the North Central Counties of Missouri*, by Orvyl Guy Adams.

*State Control of County Finance in Missouri*, by Merrill Edward Montgomery.

*Community Relations of Young People*—in the Republic community, by E. M. Edmondson.

*Social Relations of Young People to the Community*—in the Seneca community, by Roy Scantlin.

*The Geography of the Ashland Region*—in Boone county, by Leslie Fahrner.

*The Geology of an Area Near Hannibal, Missouri*, by Louis S. Bumgardner.

*An Entomological Survey of a Sewage Polluted Stream*—Hinkson Creek in Boone county, by Cecil Nolan Davis.

## MISSOURI CONFEDERATE FLAG IDENTIFIED

The historic flag of the Second Missouri Volunteer Confederate Infantry, made by Audrain county women during the early months of the Civil War, has been found.

It came about at a Democratic speaking here Wednesday afternoon. Mayor Louis Stigall of St. Joseph was on the program, and Joseph E. Gates of St. Joseph accompanied him.

Mr. Gates was introduced to Joe Lee Bomar of this city, who inquired if he were the son of "the illustrious Col. Elijah Gates, commander of the Second Missouri Volunteer Confederate Infantry."

Mr. Gates replied in the affirmative and in their conversation a flag at the Gates home in St. Joseph was identified as the missing flag of the regiment which went through eighty-seven engagements during the Civil War.

Mr. Gates also inquired about the ring on his father's hand when it was amputated following injury in battle, Mr. Bomar informing him that it had been given by Col. Gates to Ben Winn, Sr., who was attending him, to be handed down to his wife at his death, and to Ben and Wess Winn, her children at her death.—*Mexico Evening Ledger*, October 20, 1928.

#### IN RE DONIPHAN'S EXPEDITION

Mr. Philip C. Tucker of Bradenton, Florida, has written the following letter to Mr. W. B. McGroarty concerning Richardson's "Journal of Doniphan's Expedition," which appeared in *The Missouri Historical Review*, as edited by Mr. McGroarty:

"I wish to express to you the pleasure, that I derived, from perusal of the article by you, in *The Missouri Historical Review*, entitled, "William H. Richardson's Journal of Doniphan Expedition."

"It was a wonderful picture of the daily trials and hardships of that band of hardy pioneer soldiers who helped in capturing and holding that section of the Union, for the people of the United States. It should be better known than it is. Of course Gen. Doniphan is honored in his native state, but he should be in all the Union. He and his men did as great a feat in taking Santa Fe, as did Sam Houston, and his Volunteers at San Jacinto, Texas, in striking the shackles of Mexico from all that section of what is now the Great West. Except for these two, it would still be Mexican territory.

"I had never read before a full account of the Expedition. My maternal grandfather fought with Houston at San Jacinto."



## ANNIVERSARIES AND MEMORIALS

A memorial to David R. Atchison was unveiled and dedicated in Plattsburg on October 27. The memorial, a life size statue of Senator Atchison, was erected by the State of Missouri at a cost of \$15,000. Governor Sam A. Baker delivered the dedicatory address, in which he reviewed the life and public work of Senator Atchison.

The statue of The Pioneer Mother which was erected in Lexington by the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution was formally dedicated September 17, 1928. This statue is one of twelve erected along the National Old Trails road, one in each of the states through which it passes. The location of The Pioneer Mother in Missouri was determined by Lexington's outstanding position of historical interest in the state. Fifty of the eighty-five D. A. R. chapters in Missouri were represented in the dedication ceremonies. Preceding the dedication of the statue, bronze tablets on five of the other historic sites in the city were unveiled.

The Capt. Meriwether Lewis Bridge across the Missouri river at Fort Bellefontaine, and the Capt. William Clark Bridge, across the Mississippi river at Alton, were opened to traffic July 22. They were so named in order to commemorate the famous Lewis and Clark Expedition.

"One hundred and twenty years ago, when Lewis and Clark, commissioned by President Thomas Jefferson to explore the Northwest, crossed the Mississippi river at the confluence of this great stream and the Missouri river, no ordinary means of travel could be resorted to. The party, forty-five in all, including soldiers, hunters, boatmen, workmen, an interpreter and a negro servant of Clark, encountered hardships such as today would not be hazarded by the heartiest.

"The party, history relates, had one boat 55 feet long, with twenty-two oars and a big square sail, and in this vessel the turbulent waters of the Missouri river were braved and the party successfully started its way to the great Northwest territory.

"Today the two bridges mark the point where these pioneers crossed the Mississippi river and started on their journey up the Missouri river."—St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, July 22, 1928.

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For one day, October 14, Bloomington, once important seat of government for Macon county, enjoyed a glorious "comeback." Double lines of autos were parked on the sides of the streets and extended far out in the roads entering the hamlet.

The occasion was the unveiling of a large stone marker on the site where the original courthouse stood, at what was at one time the intersection of the Overland Trail and the State highway from Glasgow-on-the-Missouri to Des Moines. The marker was put up by the D. A. R., assisted by Theodore Gary of Kansas City.

Over the stone is the ancient bell that was in the cupola of the Bloomington courthouse. Web M. Rubey, 93 years old, the only one present who remembered anything about the courthouse unveiled the monument. Rubey was circuit clerk when the Bloomington courthouse was in use. He gave his recollections of those days. Gary, Congressman M. A. Romjue, Mrs. George Pohlman, Mrs. R. Holtzclaw, Mrs. Frances W. Belsher and L. T. Dameron, Jr., also spoke.—St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, October 17, 1928.

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On September 8, 1868, the first number of the old Kansas City Times was issued. The office was 817 Main street, upstairs, but a year or so later, it was moved to Main and Fourth streets, the former location being found "too far south." The first publishers were R. B. Drury & Co., J. D. Williams of Springfield, Mo., being the "Co."

The Times was a red-hot Democratic organ and flew at its editorial masthead the "Seymour and Blair" national ticket, Horatio Seymour of New York and Frank P. Blair of Missouri, geographically almost like the Smith and Robinson one of today. But Grant and Colfax were overwhelmingly elected.

The editors of the Times then were Col. John C. Moore and Maj. J. N. Edwards, brave Confederate soldiers under Gen. Jo Shelby only a few years previously, and highly accomplished writers. The first leading editorial article in the initial number of the 8-column folio sheet was booster one, entitled, "Resources of Kansas City," written by Colonel Moore.

But the leading editorial nearly a year later, on the completion of the Hannibal bridge, was in Major Edward's best vein, highly florid and pyrotechnical.

Charley Whitehead, who lived on fashionable Pearl Hill (Second and Walnut streets) and always wore a silk hat and a gold-headed cane, was the city editor, and a mighty good one, too. He comprised the entire reportorial staff, and was a good fighter as well as writer. The former was necessary in those strenuous wide-open "Wild Bill" days.

Seventeen years later (1885) Dr. Morrison Munford, the then owner, decided to move "uptown" from 17 West Fifth street and, singularly enough, chose a location directly opposite the original one in 1868. The Times then and for a few years thereafter was at the peak of its prosperity and Dr. Munford paid Howard M. Holden, father of Hale Holden, the western railway magnate, \$85,000 cash for the old Junction building front, called "Vaughan's Diamond." He, afterwards, sold that part of the plant to Nathaniel Thayer of Boston for about \$300,000.

Major Edwards, although away for some years at St. Joseph, Sedalia and St. Louis, was again with the paper as chief editorial writer, remaining so till his death a few years later. This was during the Charles H. Grasty successful regime, but Dr. Munford, in every emergency, was at the helm with his hand on the wheel.—M. M. F., *Kansas City Times*, September 8, 1928.

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The Gallatin *North Missourian* has started its sixty-fifth year, being one of the oldest newspapers in Missouri, and perhaps the oldest north of the Missouri river. It was founded in 1864 by D. L. Kost, who was its first editor. George Waters was associated with him in the publication and then came other

widely known Missouri editors, including Judge J. T. Day, Col. W. T. Sullivan, Robert Harrah, Robert Selby, D. H. Gilchrist, and in 1899 the paper was purchased by C. M. Harrison, father of the present publisher. The paper has been in the hands of the Harrison family for almost thirty years.—From the *Kansas City Times*, September 18, 1928.

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With the issue of August 31, 1928, the *Boonville Advertiser* entered its eighty-third year of existence. The following article appeared in this issue: "It first appeared on June 15, 1846, as the *Democratic Union*. On October 25, 1875, the proprietors of the *Boonville Advertiser* commenced the publication of a daily edition of the paper, under the name of the *Boonville Daily Advertiser*. The *Daily Advertiser* was discontinued March 7, 1879. Mr. Ravenel took charge of the *Advertiser* in March, 1878, as manager and local editor, and on March 7, 1879, leased the paper, and until 1884 was manager and editor. He was succeeded by Walter Williams, now dean of the School of Journalism at the University of Missouri. Messrs. Stahl and James R. Allen, editor, succeeded him, and they were followed by Lucien Wright. Later the paper was purchased by C. J. Walden, who edited it until 1923, when it was purchased by the present owner and publisher, Edgar C. Nelson."

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Immanuel Evangelical Lutheran Congregation, the first daughter of Trinity Lutheran Church, the oldest of that denomination in St. Louis, inaugurated the celebration of its eightieth birthday anniversary, which falls on September 2, by dedicating its new \$90,000 church, Marcus and Lexington avenues, on August 26.—*St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, August 27, 1928.

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A ceremony in commemoration of the 57th anniversary of the final reunion of the North Missouri veterans of the war of 1812, and memorial services for two soldiers of that war who are buried in La Plata Cemetery, were held in Macon on

August 26. The grave of Payton Foster was marked by a Kansas City chapter of the Daughters of 1812, and that of John S. Saunders is to be marked later.

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The completed Tuttle Memorial Building, a seven-story adjunct to Christ Church Cathedral at Thirteenth and Locust streets, St. Louis, was dedicated Thursday evening, November 1, according to the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* of the following date. The structure was erected in memory of Daniel Sylvester Tuttle, Episcopal Bishop of Missouri for forty years, who died in 1923. It was dedicated on the 109th anniversary of the founding of the Cathedral Parish.

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On October 17 the centennial of the Columbia Presbyterian Church was celebrated, in connection with the ninety-sixth annual meeting of the Synod of Missouri which met in Columbia. Hon. North Todd Gentry, Judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri, a former resident of Columbia, gave an address on the history of the church from its organization in September, 1828, to the present time.

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Antioch Christian Church, three miles south of Williamsburg, in Callaway county, celebrated its centennial anniversary October 14. Rev. Egan Herndon, of Centralia, recounted the history of the church which has occupied three buildings. The first was of logs, and was constructed on a site east of the present building.

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The Centennial celebration of the first white settlement in Dent county was held at Stone Hill on October 27 and 28, 1928. Speakers who took part in the celebration are: John W. Pemberton, pioneer of Stone Hill; L. F. Wainscott, District Extension Agent of Rolla; Dr. E. L. Morgan and Prof. Henry Herman Krusekopf, both of the University of Missouri faculty; Floyd C. Shoemaker, Secretary of the State Historical

Society of Missouri, and Hon. William P. Elmer. Tribute was paid by these speakers to the pioneers who settled Dent county and to those who founded its institutions. To George Cole is given the credit for making the first permanent settlement in the present confines of Dent county. He cleared and cultivated a farm, either on the Meramec or one of its branches, in 1828. In 1835 Lewis Dent, for whom the county was named and who was its first representative in the General Assembly (in 1852) came from Tennessee and settled near the present site of Salem. The Stone Hill community is thirteen miles east of Salem, the county seat.

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"Westport Landing, the predecessor of Kansas City, is to be revived next spring with as much fidelity to early history as can be learned from old prints and diaries. For Westport Landing in the '40s was the point of departure for the long prairie trek by ox team or horse to the Southwest, California and the Pacific Northwest and if possible, the Kansas City Chamber of Commerce will re-enact those stirring scenes," reports the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* of August 26, 1928. It is further planned to have an actual caravan of prairie schooners make an overland trip to San Francisco. The committee in charge has issued a call for data that will aid in staging this pageant of pioneer life.

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The old Ranney colonial home at Cape Girardeau, Mo., is one of the oldest structures in that section of the State. It was built in 1838 by slave labor and is constructed from "Cape Girardeau marble," a stone similar in appearance but firmer than sandstone. The building now stands on the west side of North Main street, more than a block away from the Mississippi river. In early days the lawn of the building ran down to the water's edge, and river steamers landed there. The broad lawn was the scene of many gay parties when visitors came down from St. Louis and north from Memphis, older residents relate.

The building contains eight fireplaces. It has been proposed that the structure be preserved as a memorial to pioneer history of that section and as the place where the social life of Southeast Missouri was initiated.—St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, September 29, 1928.

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Mrs. Sarah E. Cotton, thought to be Sedalia's oldest white resident, celebrated her ninety-seventh birthday anniversary on October 1.

Mrs. Cotton has this distinction, that Sedalia was named in her honor, the name of the city first being Sedville, she as a child having been called "Sed" and the "ville" having been added to make it more euphonic. The daughter of Gen. George R. Smith, Sedalia's founder, she has spent practically her entire lifetime there. She gave ground in the center of Sedalia's residential section for the magnificent Smith-Cotton high school and presented the land for what is known as Dunbar Park for negroes. She has also aided Lincoln High School in a marked degree and is still much interested in various civic affairs.—St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, October 2, 1928.

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The Sixth Regiment cavalry of the Missouri Volunteers held a reunion in Springfield, September 14. Last year at the time of the reunion there were thirty-five members, but this year only six attended the reunion.

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The survivors of Quantrell's band held their annual reunion August 24-25 at the home of Mr. and Mrs. J. D. Wallace, Kansas City. There were but three, Tyler Burns, of Higginsville, Dan and George Hopkins, of Independence.

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The annual meeting of the survivors of the Battle of Wilson's Creek, and their descendants, was held in Springfield August 30, 31, and September 1. National recognition of the battle site is to be sought by interested parties.

Twenty-three members of Company L, 5th Missouri Volunteers of the Spanish-American War held a reunion in Mexico, Missouri, on September 3. This is the first such meeting held by these veterans, and it was planned to meet annually hereafter.

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The forty-seventh annual Old Settlers' Reunion of Missouri was held in New Florence on August 4, according to the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*.

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"The Camp Jackson Union Soldiers' Monument Association organized to erect a memorial to the capture of Camp Jackson by Union troops, at Grand and Pine boulevards, has obtained models and sketches from several sculptors and plans to execute the project in the near future, it was announced Thursday by Theodore H. Mohr, secretary of the association. Mohr said the association has obtained sufficient subscriptions, and \$50,000 will be available for the memorial if required.—St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, September 29, 1928.

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The Sanford Brown, Jr., post of the American Legion, in Kansas City, plans to erect a sixty foot flag pole mounted on a granite base in honor of Major Sanford Brown, Jr. A site on Linwood Boulevard between Brooklyn and Park Avenues has been selected for this memorial.—Kansas City *Journal*, October 2, 1928.

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Plans are being made by a committee to obtain the erection of a memorial to Ray County's soldiers in the World War. An archway of red granite, upon which will be inscribed the names of those whose lives were forfeited, will be placed at the east entrance of the courtyard, the Lexington *News* says. Of the \$2,800 necessary for the building, between \$300 and \$500 remains to be raised.—Kansas City *Times*, November 7, 1928.



## NOTES

The old tavern at Florida, from which Ulysses S. Grant, then a lieutenant in the Union army and later commander-in-chief, made his headquarters during his first campaign in the Civil War, has been torn down and will be replaced by a blacksmith shop and garage building. Thousands of tourists who came each season to visit the Mark Twain State Park and the house where Mark Twain was born, also visited the tavern. The officers of the Mark Twain Park Association had it marked for tourists.

When informed that the tavern had been torn down, H. J. Blanton of Paris, president of the park association, stated that its razing came as a surprise to the association and its officers, and was done without their knowledge or consent. The tavern was privately owned.—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, September 29, 1928.

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The Old Mill, located south of Kingston, is now being torn down, the *Caldwell County News* says. This is an historic building. In 1837 it formed a part of what was known as the Spivey Mill and was considered quite an industrial center in its time. People from miles around went there to have their wheat ground, wood carded or lumber sawed. Ten men were employed to operate this old tread mill.—*The Kansas City Times*, October 19, 1928.

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The formal dedication of the Cape Girardeau Traffic Bridge took place on September 3, 1928. 40,000 people attended the celebration.

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A very unusual form of honeymoon festivities took place Sunday night at Cedar Point. Indian friends from five tribes in Oklahoma gathered there to celebrate the wedding of Mr. Dick, a full blood Cherokee from Oklahoma, to Grace Wright an Indian woman who owns a home at Cedar Point. The wedding took place a month ago.

Indians representing the Cherokee, Quapaw, Blackfoot, Shawnee, and Osage tribes called on the newly wedded couple and indulged in an old time native barbecue and pow-wow. A great fire was built and after the feasting, the Indians put on some of their native dances. These included the stomp dance, the rope dance, fire dance, and finally the peace dance. All the pale faces of Cedar Point joined their Indian brothers in the peace dance, dancing in a great circle around the fire.

White folks present state that the fire, the weird music, Indian yells, and the dance performances made an entertainment that they will never forget.

"This was an impromptu affair," C. L. Stone of Cedar Point said, "and if I had only known what was coming off, I would have arranged to have had more local people see it. The dances were held close to the lake shore and could easily have been seen and heard by people in boats."

Probably no such performance has taken place here since the Indians left the Ozarks a century ago.

Chief Dick, the father of the bridegroom, has remained for a few days at Cedar Point and is making some bows and arrows for Mr. Stone and his folks.—*Branson White River Leader*, August 16, 1928.

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The *Kansas City Journal-Post* magazine of November 4 contains the first installment of "The Thrilling Adventures of Wild Bill Hickok" by John Peere Mills.

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The *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* magazine of November 4, 1928, contains an interesting description of the house in which General Grant once lived. The homestead is now owned by Mr. Albert Wenzlick, and is well preserved.

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The Concordia Theological Seminary, established ninety years ago in Altenburg, Perry County, but now located in St. Louis, is the subject of an article in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* magazine of October 28, 1928.

Colonel Dick Rutledge, a native of Missouri who was one of Kit Carson's scouts, relates many stirring pioneer incidents in the *Kansas City Star* of October 21, 1928. He was formerly an Indian fighter, scout, freighter, peace officer, and rancher.

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The Carrollton *Democrat* of October 12 records the death of Mrs. Mary Shields, widow of the late General James Shields. She died in New York City on October 8, at the age of ninety-three.

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*The Confederate Veteran* (Nashville, Tenn.), of October, 1928, has an article on "Missouri Troops in the Vicksburg Campaign," by James E. Payne, of Dallas, Texas, a former member of Company A, 6th Missouri Infantry.

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"The Battle of Wilson's Creek," an article which appears in the August, 1928, issue of *The Palimpsest*, of the State Historical Society of Iowa, recounts vividly the story of this Missouri battle. The Dubuque (Iowa) *Herald* of August 21, first printed this account which was written by Franc B. Wilkie just after the battle.

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Mr. George W. England, 78-year-old resident of Kirksville, recounts the story of the battle of Kirksville which occurred on August 6, 1862, in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* of August 10. Mr. England was an eyewitness to this battle.

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*The Colorado Magazine*, published by the State Historical Society of Colorado, October, 1928, contains an article on "The Death and the Last Will of Kit Carson," written by Albert W. Thompson. This is an article that will be of interest to Missourians.

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A museum of musical instruments was recently given to the Kansas City-Horner Conservatory of Music by Sir Carl

Busch, according to the *Kansas City Journal-Post* of October 28. It consists of many instruments which are now obsolete, as well as early forms of present day instruments.

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The Second Annual School Edition of the *Union Republican-Tribune*, August 28, 1928, contains an interesting article on the early history of Franklin county schools.

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West Eminence, once an Ozark town of 2,000, is to be sold, for it is now practically deserted. With the decline of the timber industry the prosperity of the town waned and its inhabitants moved away.—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, November 7, 1928.

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"Whitesburg, Ky.—(A.P.) Efforts to save the historic old tree on which Daniel Boone is believed to have carved his initials in 1781 have proved unsuccessful, and leaves on the last living branch of the tree are withering.

"A block bearing the initials 'D. B.' and the date '1781' has been cut from the tree and presented to the Kentucky Historical Society, as a museum piece.

"The tree, which has been a landmark, stands on the farm of W. H. Potter at Kena, on the edge of the north fork of the Kentucky river."—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, November 7, 1928.

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THE NATIONAL OLD TRAILS ROAD AND THE PART PLAYED BY  
LEXINGTON IN THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT

By B. M. Little, Lexington, Mo. (1928), privately printed.

A brief though concise account of this "pathway of American history" and of certain Missouri high lights in the western expansion of the country is contained in this pamphlet of thirty-one pages.

Beginning with Braddock's Road, surveyed through Maryland by Washington in 1763, and its extension over the Cumberland Pike to St. Louis from 1806 to 1818, this national

highway is briefly traced across Missouri to the western border of the State, and thus through the town of Lexington, which played no small part in the early movement for Western trade and settlement. Here at Lexington, on the National Old Trails highway, will stand the Missouri monument to the Pioneer Mother. This memorial statue is one of twelve to be erected in each of the twelve states which the historic road traverses.

An account is given of the movement for the restoration of the National Old Trails road from the Atlantic to the Pacific, which had its first impetus through the efforts of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution in 1911 to place markers along the route. A brief sketch is also given of the National Old Trails Road Association, which had its inception at Kansas City in 1912, and of the co-operation between the Association and the State Society of the D. A. R. in the interests of the Missouri National Old Trails.

The pamphlet has interesting illustrations of Lexington, of early Western scenes, and of a number of documents associated with the history of Missouri's early transportation problems.

THE STATE CAPITOL OF MISSOURI, A DESCRIPTION OF ITS CONSTRUCTION AND DECORATIONS

By John Pickard, Ph.D., D. F. A. Hugh Stephens Press, Jefferson City, Mo., '1928. (Price, twenty-five cents.)

This book of one hundred and twenty-eight pages is the official Baedeker of Missouri's State Capitol. It is a valuable guide to anyone who would see and appreciate the artistic, architectural and historical significance of the State's most prized building. The author, Dr. John Pickard, himself an artist and a student of art, served as president of the Capitol Decoration Commission from its organization in 1917.

The book answers a demand for a complete Capitol guide book since none has been up to this time available. The volume published by Parker in 1924, to which the author of the present work acknowledges his indebtedness for valuable material, was necessarily incomplete, as many of the most important paintings and decorative features of the Capitol have been added since that time.

The present book is complete in all its details. With the exception of the portraits of Missouri governors, an illustration and brief description of each painting, mural, sculpture and architectural feature of the Capitol is found in its pages. Dealing as it does with a diversity of art subjects, the work is yet so well arranged as to present a unified account.

The first thirteen pages of the text contain a brief account of the legal and financial history of the Capitol and the Capitol Decoration Commission, and a description of the materials, dimensions, and fundamental architectural features of the structure. This is followed by short sketches on the history of Missouri's three former capitols; the inscriptions in the present building; the friezes; the pediment and other sculptural and architectural units of the building's exterior. The great dome, with its magnificent Brangwyn murals is next described in detail, together with the four smaller domes below. The remainder of the book is given over to descriptions of the interior works of art and decoration—the mural paintings, sculpture, stained glass, and decorative plaster and metal work.

One valuable feature of the book is the historical data found in the explanatory text accompanying each illustration. Of the illustrations themselves much should be said in praise. There are sixty-three full-page, halftone engravings and nine smaller ones. The whole presents a remarkably clear pictorial account of Missouri's State Capitol.

The book is adequately indexed. It is bound in an ivory glazed paper cover lettered in black and red, with a title vignette of the great dome.

#### PERSONALS

DAVID A. BALL: Born in Lincoln county, Missouri, June 18, 1851; died in Louisiana, Missouri, October 1, 1928. At the age of seventeen he taught school for one year. In 1870 he attended school in Pike county and also studied law, being licensed to practice in 1874. He was elected city attorney of Louisiana in this year, and four years later was elected prosecuting attorney. He was next elected to the State

senate, and in 1884 was made presiding officer of that body. In 1876 he became associated with the late Champ Clark in the practice of law. In 1908 he ran for the Democratic nomination for governor, but was defeated. He was elected probate judge of Pike county in 1918, and was serving in that capacity at the time of his death, having been re-elected in 1926.

**JOSEPH BOYCE:** Born in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1841; died in St. Louis, Missouri, July 29, 1928. He was educated in the schools of his native city. During the Civil war he served in the First Missouri Confederate Volunteers, being commissioned a captain. After the war he, with his brothers, engaged successively in tobacco manufacturing, distributing tobacco manufacturers' supplies, and in 1902 the sale of real estate. He was later connected with an insurance company, but had retired several years previous to his death. He was a former vice-president of the Missouri Historical Society, was the founder of the Veteran Volunteer Fireman's Historical Society, and was past commander of the National Order of the Blue and Gray. From 1901 until 1904 he served as vice-president of the city council of St. Louis.

**SAMUEL DAVID GROMER:** Born in Gentry county, Missouri, in 1864; died in Kansas City, Missouri, August 26, 1928. He held degrees conferred by the University of Missouri, Columbia University, University of Chicago, Cambridge University, and the University of London. His European study also included work in France and Germany. For fifteen years he had served as associate professor of agricultural economics at the University of Missouri. His public service included five years as treasurer of Porto Rico, a post to which he was appointed in 1908 by President Roosevelt.

**LEON HARRISON:** Born in Liverpool, England, August 13, 1866; died in New York City, September 1, 1928. He came with his parents to America when he was fifteen years old. His education was continued in the public schools of New York City, and later in the College of the City of New York, Columbia University, and Emmanuel Theological Seminary. Following his education, in which he at all times distinguished himself, he accepted the pastorate of Temple

Israel in Brooklyn. Shortly thereafter he accepted the call to the rabbinical post of Temple Israel in St. Louis, a position which he held until the time of his death.

**WILLIAM RUFUS HOLLISTER:** Born in Monticello, Missouri, September 3, 1879; died in Jefferson City, Missouri, October 3, 1928. He received his education in the public schools of his native county, and later purchased the controlling interest in the *Lewis County Journal*, at Monticello. Upon the election of W. J. Stone to the United States Senate he became his secretary, later becoming, successively, secretary of the foreign relations committee of the Senate, assistant secretary of the Democratic National Executive Committee, then secretary of the latter. A few years before his death he purchased a share of the *Capital News*, at Jefferson City, and was editor of this paper when he died. He was an editorial member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

**JOHN A. LEE:** Born at Flemingsburg, Kentucky, June 28, 1851; died in Chicago, Illinois, October 10, 1928. He was educated in the public schools of St. Louis and New Orleans, and was graduated from Forest Home Military College, of Jefferson county, Kentucky. He came to Missouri first in 1857, went south in 1861, and returned to this state in 1876. He was a member of the Confederate reserves at New Orleans in 1862. He was chairman of the Democratic City Central Committee of St. Louis, and of the Executive Committee of that body for several years. From 1893 to 1897 he served as a member of the Board of Police Commissioners of St. Louis. In 1896 he was nominated for presidential elector-at-large but resigned. He was also an editor and publisher, and for a time was a commercial traveler. He was elected lieutenant-governor of Missouri in 1890, but resigned in May, 1903. He had been a resident of Chicago for twenty years preceding his death.

**OLAF A. LUCAS:** Born near Monmouth, Illinois; died in St. Louis, Missouri, September 27, 1928. He was graduated from Knox College, at Galesburg, Illinois, in 1885, and studied law at Northwestern University, Evanston, being admitted to the bar thereafter. He moved to Kansas City in 1887, and began the practice of law. He was elected circuit judge



in 1910, 1916, and 1922, and was Past Grand Master of the Missouri Grand Lodge, A. F. & A. M.

**JOHN M. MALANG:** Born in Nashville, Tennessee, September 29, 1866; died in Kansas City, Missouri, September 13, 1928. He moved to the vicinity of Joplin with his parents when he was twelve years old. He first started working in the mines, and later became a mine operator. He took an active interest in politics and beginning in 1908, served one term as State senator. He was the author of the Morgan-McCullough Road Law. He served as state road superintendent during the administration of this law. He sponsored many other highway development schemes, and due to his successful management became known as the father of Missouri's good roads. He advocated the \$60,000,000 road bond issue in 1920, and was campaigning for the proposed \$75,000,000 road bond issue of 1928, at the time of his death.

**CHARLES REBSTOCK:** Born in Cincinnati, Ohio, September 6, 1846; died in St. Louis, Missouri, October 9, 1928. He moved to St. Louis at the age of fourteen with his parents. One year later, at the death of his father, he began work to support his family. Soon he secured a job with E. Anheuser & Co., the predecessor of Anheuser-Busch, Inc. He remained with this company four years, then entered the wholesale liquor business for himself. In five years he had made this a secure and paying business, and its growth was steady until 1920, when he retired. He was widely known as a philanthropist, having given \$1,000,000 to Washington University in 1925. Other notable contributions were made to the Missouri Association for the Blind, and to St. Louis University Medical School. At the time of his death he was a director in the Bank of Commerce in St. Louis. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

**AUGUST FREDERICK SEESTED:** Born in Tondren, Schleswig-Holstein, March 26, 1864; died in Kansas City, Missouri, October 2, 1928. At the age of sixteen he came to America, with his parents, and shortly thereafter began work on the Kansas City *Star*. His industry soon gained for him the office of business manager. In 1902 he became general

manager, a position which he continued to hold until the time of his death.

**NATHANIEL M. SHELTON:** Born near Troy, Missouri, March 17, 1851; died in Macon, Missouri, September 21, 1928. He was educated in the public schools of his native county, Parker Seminary, in Troy, and William Jewell College at Liberty. He then taught school one year and was then appointed deputy clerk and recorder of Montgomery county. He studied law for two years under the direction of Judge Elliott M. Hughes, and in 1874 entered the law department of the University of Missouri. Following his admission to the bar in 1875 he began practice in Schuyler county. In 1884 he was elected State representative, and re-elected in 1886. Two years later he was elected to the State senate. In 1898 he was elected to the bench of the second judicial circuit, composed of Putnam, Schuyler, Adair, Macon, and Shelby counties, a position which he held eighteen years. He had resided in Macon since 1902. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

**CHARLES F. STROP:** Born in St. Joseph, Missouri, in 1868; died in St. Joseph, Missouri, September 27, 1928. He was educated in the public schools of his native city, the University of Missouri, and Columbia University. Following his graduation from these schools he entered the law office of Green & Burns of St. Joseph. In 1897 he was appointed judge of division number two of the circuit court, a position he held for a short time.

**CECIL WARREN THOMAS:** Born in 1872 in Jefferson City, Missouri; died in Chicago, Illinois, October 3, 1928. He was educated in the schools of his native city, and soon thereafter began work as a bank clerk in St. Louis. He later returned to Jefferson City and entered the real estate business. In 1911 he was elected mayor of the city, a position which he continued to hold until the time of his death. His administration is known for its successful policy of civic improvement, fostering the street-car system, paving, a viaduct connecting the west and east parts of the city, a bond issue of great value, and other steps in advance.

## MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

### DRIVING HOGS TO MISSISSIPPI RIVER MARKETS IN MISSOURI IN THE SIXTIES

By Louis R. Grinstead, in *Wallaces' Farmer*, October 12, 1928.

In the period between 1848 and 1872 there was carried on at Alexandria, Missouri, a pork-packing industry, the extent of which marked it as the largest industry of its kind on the river above St. Louis. Alexandria is a small town in Clark county, lying on the Mississippi river and about three miles below the mouth of the Des Moines.

In the peak year of this industry, 1869-70, there were 42,557 hogs slaughtered and packed here. These came from southeastern Iowa and northeastern Missouri, being driven on foot in huge "drives" from sometimes as far as 100 miles away.....

The beginnings of this industry came through the effort to remedy the unsatisfactory condition in which pork was being brought in for sale at the town. Alexandria at this time was the river port of supply and exchange for a considerable part of northeastern Missouri and that part of southeastern Iowa not dominated by Keokuk. Farmers for miles around would come to it, bringing their produce which they exchanged for New Orleans sugar and molasses, lumber and other supplies.....

In the early fifties Andy Maxwell started a slaughterhouse. For a time the farmers would band their hogs together and drive them to this slaughterhouse, where they were butchered and sold to the merchants "off the hocks." Soon Maxwell instituted the practice of buying the hogs himself and slaughtering and curing them. A queer fact about his weighing methods is that he seems to have had no facilities for weighing more than one hog at a time. Every hog that he bought was weighed by itself and in the years that he was in business he handled a good many thousand hogs.

The Civil War brought an added demand for cured pork so Maxwell went into the business of slaughtering and packing on a large scale. About the close of the war he instituted the practice of sending out purchasing agents who bought the hogs, collected them in large groups, and drove them to the slaughterhouse.

Nathaniel Davis of Scotland county, Missouri, was the general purchasing agent for his section. Sometimes he would start building up a "drive" as far west as Putnam county and add to it as he went eastward to Alexandria. Often there would be as many as 1,000 hogs in the drove by the time Alexandria was reached.

In those days hogs were never marketed under eighteen months of age, and at that age would weigh 300 pounds or more. There were no stock laws in operation so hogs ran on the open range. Some of them got

very wild and handling a bunch of them was much like handling a pack of wild beasts.....

With so large a bunch of hogs, many of them of the temperament of wild animals, progress on the drive was of course slow. The drives usually started late in November, and with such short days (travel was only in the day-time) six to eight miles a day was considered a good day's travel for the drive. Sometimes a drive from Putnam county would last for ten days. The larger drives would often string out for more than a mile with drovers all along the line. Like the cowboys of the western plains who quiet their cattle with low-sung lullabies, the hog-drovers developed sing-song chants to quiet the hogs. One of the chants ran something like this:

"Hog up. Hog up. 40 cents a day and no dinner.

Straw bed and no cover.

Corn bread and no butter.

Hog up. Hog up."

When night came the drive would stop at some farmer's house along the road and bed down for the night. Most of the farmers living along the road had some sort of corral which could be used to enclose the herd. If the night was cold and stormy, as they usually were that time of the year, some of the drovers would have to sit up with the herd and keep the hogs from piling up and smothering.

Pay for the drovers accompanying the herd was at the rate of \$1 a day and board and lodging furnished..... Upon reaching Alexandria the drovers were paid off and made their way back home as best they could.....

The price paid for hogs of course varied from season to season. Records show that in 1853-54 the average price was \$3.58. Then with seasonal variations we find that prices steadily advanced until in 1859 when they were as follows: 220-pound hogs, \$5.50; 200-pound, \$5.25; 175-pound, \$5.00; 150-pound, \$4.75.

While the firm of A. Maxwell & Co. (Maxwell took in a partner sometime in the early fifties), seems to have been the leading pork-packers in Alexandria, there were other firms engaged in the industry. Of these records mention Fitz Henry, and Pritchett & Gartrell & Co., who did a mercantile business aside from their pork-packing business. The name of Roe is frequently mentioned in connection with that of Maxwell but Roe seems to have been a St. Louis banker who probably financed Maxwell.

The industry was not confined to Alexandria, for Keokuk, Iowa, Warsaw and Canton, Illinois, all had their packing plants, though not quite so extensive as those at Alexandria.....

The peak of the Alexandria packing industry seems to have come in 1869-70 when a total of 42,557 hogs were slaughtered and packed by the firms engaged in the business there. There was paid out in that year, for salt, labor, cooperage, and hogs, the sum of \$1,250,000, a considerable amount in those days from so small a town.

An extract from an 1869 issue of the *Alexandria Commercial*, a newspaper now long defunct, says, "The Pork House of A. Maxwell & Co., has

received a thorough coat of whitewash inside and out which adds much to the appearance of these buildings. That firm has made every arrangement to pack 45,000 hogs the coming season and have already bought at least 15,000. They are paying the highest price in cash and intend doing so all through the season. The farmers of Clark and adjoining counties cannot do better than bring their hogs to this market."

With the peak business in 1869-70 the business declined until in 1872 it was abandoned entirely. The ominous warnings of the "Panic of 1873" and the unsettled condition of agriculture which followed it were already in the air. Pork prices went down until the Alexandria packers were all driven from business and none ever started up again.

When the town site of Alexandria was first laid out in 1833 its founders believed they had picked a strategic site for a town. At that time there was considerable boat traffic on the Des Moines river, even as far up as where the city of Des Moines now stands. Later when Iowa was admitted as a state there was some talk of the state improving the navigation in the river. Had this been done, with the river winding far into Iowa, and Alexandria lying so close to its mouth, the hopes of its founders would have been fulfilled.

Iowa never developed the river though, but on the contrary allowed navigation to be interfered with by permitting several dams to be built in the river. Perhaps the most notable and extensive of these was the dam at Bonaparte erected by Meeks Brothers to furnish power for their woolen mills there.

Then the site picked for the town was an unfortunate one in that it is extremely low and has been inundated by the Mississippi river several times. Despite these handicaps the town did flourish during the days of the pork-packing industry. Pritchett, Gartrell & Co., had a mercantile business in addition to their packing plant which did a yearly business of \$250,000 in the period from 1867-72. They had a large five-story brick building facing the river which was erected at a cost of \$12,000. In a destructive fire in 1875 this block and several other large business houses were destroyed and this finished the town as far as any commercial importance was concerned.

The newspaper mentioned above flourished at one time as well as a small college which existed from 1870 to 1875. The college was abandoned since its site was inundated several times.

The coming of the railroads would probably have meant an end to Alexandria's packing industry had not other causes intervened. The Keokuk and Western Railroad, running from Keokuk to Alexandria and then up through the northern tier of Missouri counties to Centerville, Iowa, and beyond, came through in 1871. In 1872 the Burlington line, from St. Louis to Minneapolis, was built. Then came the railroad from Burlington and Fort Madison up through the southern tier of Iowa counties and away to the west.

With the coming of these railroads the hog driving stopped. They could be shipped to the larger markets where better prices prevailed.

So if the Alexandria packing industry had not ceased when it did, it would have faced failure a few years later from lack of raw material. For the time it existed it served its purpose well, but like many other pioneer industries was shoved aside in the march of progress.

#### THE FIRST RAILROAD IN MISSOURI

From the *St. Louis Western Journal and Civilian*, July, 1852.

Messrs. Tarver & Cobb, Editors *Western Journal*:

Gentlemen: In this day of progress when this entire country, and particularly the great and growing West, seems to be alive to works of internal improvements; when plankroads, railroads, and canals are engrossing the public mind, I have thought proper to give your readers the history of the first railroad, now completed in the State of Missouri. During a recent trip up the Missouri river, I stopped at Lexington, now a city of commercial importance, and all a growth of only twelve years. It can now deservedly boast of a splendid college, several elegant female academies, flouring-mills, rope-walks, pork packeries, etc. Besides, it is the great mart of the wheat, hemp and tobacco country. But to return to the railroad. After leaving Lexington, I crossed the river and took the road leading to Richmond. Passing through a beautiful prairie, I came to the residence of James R. Allen, Esq., an old and highly esteemed citizen of Ray county. On my arrival I found him absent from home. While waiting for his return, I amused myself with examining his splendid merchant mill which he has recently erected on his plantation, and for the use of which his railroad was originally projected. I found this establishment one of the best I ever saw, and already it holds a high reputation for manufacturing the very best flour. In a short time, I saw the cars coming up from the river, and on the train sat the old gentleman himself. He alighted from his railway carriage, and greeted me with great cordialty. Night coming on, I spent the evening with him under his hospitable roof. During my short stay with him, he informed me that the railroad in question, leading from his mills to the Missouri river, is five miles in length, reaching the river nearly opposite Lexington, with his own negroes and a few hired laborers he has sawed all the materials, graded the road, bridged the sloughs, and, in short, has completely finished his road in the space of two years. In the first place he built a saw mill at the place of beginning, and used the road as fast as it was laid down for the transportation of materials. The whole concern is made of wood. The streamers, cross-ties and rails are all of the best seasoned native post oak, which becomes almost impervious to rain and weather, and will answer for many, many years just as good a purpose as iron. This road crossed a miry, wretched swamp that lies between Lexington and the Grand River country. It will therefore be of the greatest advantage to the citizens of that vast growing country, in getting their weighty but valuable products to market, and carrying back their supplies for home consumption. Mr. Allen in-

formed me that his road costs him, including everything, about \$1,500 a mile. He thinks that railroads of this kind are far cheaper, and in every way better, than plankroads. That great success may attend his noble enterprise, and that his fondest anticipations may be realized, is certainly the wish of every patriotic heart, for he richly deserves it. If, gentlemen, such railway links as these could only bind our western villages, one by one, communication would be increased, travel facilitated, and the heaviest articles of merchandise would be transported for a mere song. Then, and not till then, can you expect a market at every man's door. I am heartily glad as an American citizen to see that our whole country has wakened up to the great importance of "internal improvements." Even my own State, Louisiana, has at last shaken off the stand-still policy, and begins to find that unless she enters the lists in real earnest, it will soon be too late. The trade will be diverted to other points, and the golden harvests be reaped by others. The convention now in session, will take a deep interest in this matter, and do all in its power to bring capital to the State, and invest it freely. Already, not only meetings are held, and spirited addresses delivered, but money, the *L'argent*, subscribed with great liberality. In every direction, from New Orleans, as the great center, to Jackson, Miss., to Opelousas, and even to St. Louis, the people are up and adoin. In conclusion, gentlemen, may I not indulge the hope that in a few short years, you will dine with me, (near Baton Rouge) and on the following evening take your tea and toast with your friends in St. Louis.

Very truly, your ob't. s't.,

H. W. A.,

West Baton Rouge, July 5, 1852.

#### ORIGIN OF THE NAME "OZARKS"

From the *Kansas City Times*, September 14, 1928.

Geologists do not regard the Ozark Mountains as part of either the Rocky or the Appalachian systems, but as an independent and distinct unit.

The plateau or upland area commonly known as the Ozarks lies in southern Missouri, northern Arkansas and eastern Oklahoma. It is separated from the Appalachians by the lowlands of the Mississippi basin and from the Rockies by the Great Plains.

"Ozarks" is an American rendering of "Aux Arcs" (pronounced "Oze-ark") literally meaning "with bows," a term which the early French applied to a band of Quapaw Indians who inhabited the mountain region of Missouri and Arkansas. "Aux Arcs" was descriptive of the Indians and was equivalent to English "bow carriers." The early French had a trading post called Aux Arcs near the present village of Arkansas Post.

## BEGINNING OF ST. LOUIS SCHOOL SYSTEM

From the *St. Louis Star*, October 31, 1928.

..... Jean Baptiste Trudeau taught the first school in St. Louis. He was a stern disciplinarian, and emphasized his pedagogy with frequent raps across the knuckles of his pupils. The textbook consisted of readings from the old French prayer book. This, combined with some simple arithmetic and instruction in writing their own names was the extent of the curricula taught the boys in the rude log cabin at Second and Pine streets. It was not until several years later that the first English speaking school was opened in a room on Market near Second street by George Tompkins.

There was little interest in a public school at this time, although not all the children in the village could afford to attend private schools. Consequently many early St. Louisans were illiterate. Four years after the state legislature granted a charter to St. Louis for a board of education, construction of a public school began. It was opened in 1828, a two-room frame structure costing \$1,370.

Prejudice against public schools was being overcome gradually, and ten years later Edward Wyman, a pioneer in education, opened his English and Classical High School with one pupil. A year later there were 300 students. This was not a public school, for a tuition fee of \$8.00 a month was charged.

Central High School was the first public school of higher education. It was originally located in the old Benton school building on Sixth street between St. Charles and Locust streets, and later was moved to the present building at Grand and Finney avenues.

From this beginning St. Louis has achieved noteworthy progress along educational lines. Many important movements which have exerted an influence on education in this country and abroad have originated here. The first kindergarten connected with public schools was started here nearly fifty years ago by Miss Susan Blow. The first manual training school was opened forty years ago by Prof. Calvin M. Woodward.....

## LEGEND OF HALLEY'S BLUFF

From the *Milan Standard*, October 22, 1925.

The Osage river near its source in western Missouri is bordered by precipitous bluffs and now and then a limestone ledge. Near its upper course and bordering one of these rapids is Halley's Bluff, which Indian tradition tells us stands as a monument to old Chief No-Horse, his beautiful daughter, No-wa-tah, and Chief Little No-Horse, the last of a long line of chiefs of the Osage tribe.

There is a legend that No-wa-tah, noted for her marvelous beauty far and wide, had refused all suitors, even the handsome Ha-te-hah, until her aged father, on his death bed, called them both to him and, placing her



hand in that of the young warrior, indicated that he wished them to wed which they did, and the old chief died.

A son, who was named Chief Little No-Horse, was born to the Indian maiden and her warrior husband, and his coming was celebrated as the birth of a new chief for the tribe. While Ha-te-hah had joined his warriors in a summer hunting and fishing expedition, No-wa-tah strolled down to the banks of the Osage, at the foot of Halley's Bluff, and left the baby chief snugly wrapped in furs on the grass beneath a spreading elm that shaded the grave of her father while she went in search for medicine plants and useful herbs. She failed to notice that Little No-Horse had kicked his furs from about him and was lying naked, cooing to the waving branches and chirping birds, when suddenly a huge eagle swooped down on the helpless baby, fastened its talons in the child's flesh and carried him off, before the eyes of his frenzied mother. The bird disappeared in a hole high up Halley's bluff. The mother, unable to bear the anguish, plunged into the river and drowned.

Soon after the death of the infant chief and his mother the Osage tribe moved southward into what is now Jasper and Newton counties, where it claimed title to the land until 1825, when, by treaty with the federal government, it agreed to move into what is now Oklahoma. They remained in Southwest Missouri until driven out by state troops under orders from Governor Lilburn W. Boggs, in what was known as the Osage War in 1837.

#### HANNIBAL AND ST. JOSEPH RAILROAD

By Edgar White in the *Macon Republican*, February 8, 1927.

The Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad, now a part of the Burlington main line from Kansas City to Chicago, will have a birthday February 13, the rail connection between the Mississippi and the Missouri rivers having been made in Livingston county February 13, 1859.

The first train over the road after that was a big event for the people of north Missouri. Great crowds assembled at all the towns to see the woodburner engine and its little string of cars pass by.

Wood was the fuel used in the early days of the road's operation, but it was not long before the advancing price of that sort of fuel forced the road to seek something else to keep the fire going in its engines. Coal had been recently discovered at Bevier, and that town soon developed into a busy mining camp. Most of the mining was done by Welsh people, who came flocking into Bevier with the news of the discovery.

The early days of the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad were full of incidents. Eugene Field wrote a most interesting story about something that happened on the road one night. Bob Stewart, the main promoter of the road and its first president, was on the train. A crying baby was disturbing the sleep of the passengers. The distressed mother seemed to be unable to quiet the little one. President Stewart took in the situation. Walking over to the mother he said:

"Madam, my name is Stewart. I am president of this railroad and it is my duty to look after the comfort of our patrons. Hand that baby to me."

Not knowing whether he was going to throw the child out of the window or otherwise murder it, yet fearing to disobey the "president of the railroad," the frightened mother handed her infant over. Stewart, who never had a child of his own, clumsily took the little passenger in his arms and walked as steadily as he could up and down the swaying aisle. The compound motion seemed to be just what the youngster wanted and it fell asleep in the president's arms. Then it was handed back to the relieved mother, with the admonition to send for the president if it kicked up any more fuss.

The second year of the road's operation it was subjected to a severe test—the putting on of a mail run against time. The train was known as the Pony Express, and it carried across the state the tissue mail destined for the miners of the Far West. The run was made April 3, 1860. Addison Clark, a top-notch engineer, and the best locomotive on the road, the "Missouri," were selected to haul the little mail car from Hannibal to St. Joseph. The only instruction Engineer Clark had from the superintendent was this:

"You are to make a record run that will stand 50 years."

A somewhat dangerous order in those days. The road bed was not seasoned. The rails were light. The grades and the curves were not standardized as they are now. But Clark accepted the commission like a good soldier. The 206 miles between Hannibal and St. Joseph were covered at an average running speed of 50 miles an hour. The fastest train on the system is not allowed to exceed that speed today.

At St. Joseph there was an immense crowd assembled to see the start of the real Pony Express, a man on horseback who was to cross the ferry with his mail sacks filled with tissue letters and ride as hard as he could to the first relay station, ten miles away, when another rider would take the mail for the next ten miles and so on until the Pony riders had covered the long journey of 1,900 miles between St. Joseph and Sacramento in eight days.

The first engines on the Hannibal and St. Joseph road were named instead of numbered. They were the Missouri, Albany, R. M. Stewart, Hannibal, St. Joseph, Governor Polk, the others were named for the counties through which the road passed, Marion, Shelby, Macon, Linn, Livingston, Caldwell and Buchanan.

Later fifteen more engines were added to the service and they were named for the Indian tribes: Cherokee, Chippewa, Mohegan, Ottawa, Chickasaw, Oneida, Comanche, Seneca, Miami, Apache, Omaha, Ontario, and so on.

The engine that was named for Governor Polk was changed to General Lyon after the battle of Wilson's Creek, as a compliment to the dead military hero and a rebuke to Governor Polk for his position on the slavery question.

The first year of the Civil War found the Hannibal and St. Joseph road in the midst of all sorts of trouble. The road was taken over by the government and used for the transportation of soldiers and military supplies. Large sums of money were transported. Bands of bushwhackers were constantly holding up trains and burning bridges, which were all of wood. Thirteen block houses were erected at the principal streams and garrisoned with soldiers. All of these queer old structures have long since disappeared, the last to go being one at Chariton river, Macon county.

Captain James McIntosh, a war-time engineer, was on the Chickasaw pulling a special containing officers of the road into St. Joseph. As the train approached Platte river bridge the engineer noticed a great volume of smoke rolling up from the structure. A man appeared on the track giving a signal to stop. In those days the engineer used his own judgment as to whether he would obey such signals or not. McIntosh decided to go ahead, despite the fact that the conductor ran forward, climbed over the tender and ordered him to stop. The engineer decided to take a chance, and kept going at full speed. As the train struck the bridge some men fired into the cars, smashing the windows, but hurting no one, as the passengers laid down on the floor. The fire had been started too late to weaken the structure and the train rushed across in safety. The officers on the train congratulated the engineer for his courage, but he resigned then and there and next day joined the Ninth Missouri Cavalry. He said it was less exciting.

Before the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad was constructed freight for the west and the northwest was shipped up from St. Louis to St. Joseph by steamboat. When the road was in operation the boats carried the freight up to Hannibal, and there it was transferred to the road. At that time the levee at Hannibal was often piled high from end to end with great stacks of freight consigned to the northwest.

The completion of the railroad ended the old tavern days in Missouri. These picturesque buildings had been strung clear across the state, and were patronized by the stage coach travelers and drivers.

This division of the railroad is now nearly 70 years old and is still carrying on. Many of the descendants of the stalwart and courageous men who were connected with it in its stormy early years are still with it, and have brought to the service the skill and courage of their ancestors which has long made the road known as "The Old Reliable."

#### SLIGO, AN OZARK TOWN

From the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, July 15, 1928.

Ghost towns are not supposed to be found in the Ozarks, but are, presumably, relics of boom days in the gold mining districts of the West. But there is at least one Ozark town—Sligo, once the site of flourishing iron mines, now abandoned.

Near Indian Trail Park, embracing 13,000 acres, in which deer, bear and turkey are being propagated, is the one time town of Sligo, in Dent

county, where years ago seven active blast furnaces employing 1,500 molders, 220 teams of mules and as many hard-boiled "skinners" supported a busy community of several thousand.

Today Sligo has about 25 inhabitants; the great furnaces and accompanying buildings are gone to decay; the big, rambling hotel is empty; store buildings are deserted and beautiful homes, once occupied by high-salaried officials, are tenantless.

However, there is to be a comeback for Sligo, for the big state park nearby is attracting thousands of tourists, whose patronage is stimulating a business revival. Boy Scout camps have been established and resorts are planned. The forest, once depleted by charcoal burners, is being restored by systematic reforestation and game is being propagated to denizen these wide preserves. Streams full of fish and a countryside romantic and beautiful are attracting tourists who may yet bring Sligo back to prosperity.

#### THE FOUNTAIN OF SPEAKING WATERS

From the Billings *Times*, August 23, 1928.

Perhaps you have never heard of the Fountain of Speaking Waters, yet it exists right here in our own Land of a Million Smiles. However, to present day residents of the Ozark country it is known as Terrell Spring, located just a few miles south of Billings in Christian county. There is nothing romantic about the spring today. The St. Louis-San Francisco Railroad Company has established a pumping station as its source, using the water supply for trains which stop at Billings. Aside from this the town of Billings obtains its water supply from this point, through a special arrangement made with the railroad company.

However, Terrell Spring is like every other cove or hollow in the Ozark region—there is a legend behind it.

Years before the ax of the white man had cut trails through the primitive forests of southwest Missouri, the Indians inhabited the region where Terrell Spring is now located. One white man by the name of Fred Conley, pushing a little further westward than the others of his race, built a cabin in the foothills near the hunting grounds of this tribe. He lived but a short time after coming to Missouri. The Widow Conley, at her husband's death found herself beset with untold worries, which the women in this day of life insurance and government bonds would not have to meet. She had two sons and upon these young men she was forced to depend for funds. Bert, the older son, had no desire to work. He was headstrong and without compassion for his fellowman. The younger son, Lon, was kind and a willing worker, but was handicapped because he had been dumb from birth. Bert hated Lon because the mother regarded her younger son as a favorite. Furthermore, Bert desired to leave the frontier farm and return to the settlements in the east.

The sun was sliding down behind the billowy hills one afternoon when an aged Indian came to the Conley cabin and asked for food and shelter

for the night. Bert insisted that the only sane policy was to send the red-skin on his way. Lon took his mother by the arm and nodded his head in the affirmative. The mother heeded the wishes of the younger son and gave the Indian lodging for the night. Now it happened that the aged Indian was the medicine man of his tribe and appreciated the favor which had been bestowed upon him by the Widow Conley.

The following morning, prior to his departure, the medicine man told the widow that when the next rainbow appeared to start her sons on a journey to the end of the rainbow, where they would find gold in sufficient quantities to render them independent. Bert was elated at the thought of being able to obtain gold without any great amount of effort, but Lon quietly awaited orders from his mother. Several days passed and no rainbow. Then one afternoon, following a heavy shower, a brilliant rainbow appeared in the heavens and the youths set forth on their journey. Just as the sun was sinking in the west they came to the end of the rainbow, several miles from their home. The rainbow came down just in front of the entrance to a large cave. In the arch of the cave sat a pot of gold. Bert rushed forward and burying his arms elbow-deep in the shining coins, shouted:

"Gold! Gold! Now our troubles are at an end. We can have anything we desire. But there is more in that cave and I am going after it. Why be content with a mere pot of gold when a fortune is within our grasp? Come on, Lon."

Lon rushed forward and seizing his brother by the arm endeavored to keep him from entering the cavern. Bert struck his brother to the ground with a single blow and disappeared down the dark passageway. Lon regained his feet and dazed as he was followed his brother lest some harm might befall him.

The winding corridor of the cave led to a vast chamber which was lighted by a golden glow. Bert and Lon paused at the entrance to the chamber. Then Bert discovered that the light was coming from a mountain of gold coins heaped in the center of the room.

Bert rushed forward and began filling his pockets with the coins, but paused when he beheld an aged man seated upon a throne on the crest of the mountain of gold.

"Who are you, mortal, that you dare to invade the bowels of the earth to take treasure that is not your own?"

"He insisted that we enter the cave," responded Bert, pointing to his brother.

"Why were you not satisfied with the pot of gold that you found at the entrance to the cave?"

"I wanted to turn back, but he insisted that we push on and gain greater wealth," responded the terror-stricken Bert.

Lon endeavored to speak in his own defense when he heard his brother falsely accuse him, but because of his affliction he was unable to utter a word.

By this time the whole top of the mountain of gold was covered with little old men. Tiny dwarfs who had come from the various passageways leading into the main treasure room. They were gnomes, little men of the realm of darkness, who seek out the treasures which are hidden from the eyes of men.

"Would your good mother have wanted you to take what did not rightfully belong to you?" asked the king of the gnomes.

"She told me to get all the gold I could find," responded Bert.

"You lie," said the king, "and henceforth your voice shall be an unpleasant sound to all men. This is an enchanted cavern and no mortal can enter here and return to the outside world in his natural form. I curse you who have lifted your voice against the woman who gave you birth."

Bert's body began to shrink. His skin turned green and he crumpled to the floor of the cavern. He endeavored to lift his voice in an appeal to the king but the only sound that he could make was a hoarse croak.

The king of the gnomes by his magic changed him into a frog.

Next the king turned his attention to Lon, who seeing the fate of his brother stood in silence awaiting his doom.

"Speak mortal," ordered the king of the gnomes. "You are honest, for I can read your mind even though your tongue is silent. I wish that I could spare you that you might return to the mortal realm in human form. However, it is written that no mortal who enters here can return to the outside."

"Have mercy, king," pleaded Lon, much surprised to find that his speech had been restored. "I intended no wrong, but realize that I must pay the penalty of folly."

"I will give you your voice, a musical voice that will be a blessing to mankind. Wherever you go you will sing a song of happiness and praise for the higher and better things of the universe. It is the best I can do."

In a twinkling of an eye, Lon's mortal form vanished and from the side of the cavern wall, against which he was leaning, burst a fountain of crystal waters. Down the passageway toward the entrance of the cave this stream of water leaped and scampered from ledge to ledge. Pouring from the mouth of the cavern the stream formed a crystal pool and then continued its winding course away through the wooded hills, singing and laughing, leaping over the rocks and pausing now and then for a moment to rest in some willow-shaded cove.

The Indians believed that this spring had certain healing or magical powers and that persons who were dumb could regain their speech by drinking of its waters. They called it "The Fountain of Speaking Waters," but today it is known merely as Terrell Spring and the legend is all but forgotten to the greater portion of residents in this community.

## WAYSIDE INN, A LEWIS COUNTY LANDMARK

From the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, September 29, 1928.

The Wayside Inn, not the one made famous by Hawthorne, but a landmark of Lewis county, five miles from La Grange, on the old Memphis-LaGrange road, as far as known, is the last of the old-time inns in this section of the country. Part of the building was erected in the early thirties and some of the original homemade weather boarding is doing duty as in the old days.

Before the Civil War and before the coming of the railroad in 1870 and 1871 all the freight for this section of the country was brought to La Grange by steamboat and then conveyed by wagons to the towns and villages as far back from the river as Memphis, Scotland county. Many of those old-time teamsters traveling over the Memphis-LaGrange road would stop over-night at the Wayside Inn.

Pens were provided for stock driven on foot to the river for shipment. Quarters were also provided for the negro help. Depressions of salt licks or deer licks are still to be seen near the old house, where hunters of the old days would conceal themselves to shoot deer when they visited these spots.

About half a mile north of the old inn, on the banks of the historic Wyaconda, were the camp grounds where the pioneer Methodists held their annual camp meeting. Near the camp meeting grounds was an old water mill, built at an early day and used until 1870.

The inn and farm upon which it stands, is owned by Richard Farr. The house is in good repair and has been converted into a comfortable farm home. It is strong and well preserved.

## FIRST SANTA FE MAIL STAGE

From the St. Louis *Western Journal*, September, 1850, p. 414.

We are gratified that the Post Office Department has at length established this line upon a footing that promises to be successful in the end; though we have heard that the stages on the first trip encountered a good deal of difficulty on account of the failure of their teams.

The Missouri Commonwealth, published at Independence, gives the following account of the departure and equipment of the first mail stage from that place westward. The first train left, we believe, on the 1st of July last.

\*We briefly alluded, some days since, to the Santa Fe line of mail stages, which left this city on its first monthly trip on the first instant. It was our intention at that time to have noticed this matter as its novelty and importance demanded, but want of leisure prevented. This is an important extension of mail service, and will be of untold utility, both to New Mexico and the States. But we simply took up our pen to give our friends in other parts of the country, some idea of the preparations which have been made by the contractors, Messrs. Waldo, Hall & Co., to

convey the mail safely through the Indian country—an undertaking which must seem hazardous, after the many murders that have been perpetrated recently by hostile tribes. The stages are got up in splendid style, and are each capable of conveying eight passengers. The bodies are beautifully painted, and made water-tight, with a view to using them as boats in ferrying streams. The team consists of six mules to each coach. The mail is guarded by eight men, armed as follows: Each man has at his side, strapped up in the stage, one of Colt's revolving rifles; in a holster, below, one of Colt's long revolving pistols, and in his belt a small Colt revolver, besides a hunting knife; so that these eight men are prepared in case of attack, to discharge one hundred and thirty-six shots without stopping to load! This is equal to a small army, armed as in olden times, and from the courageous appearance of this escort, prepared as they are, either for offensive or defensive warfare with the savages, we have no apprehensions for the safety of the mails. The whole of the equipment for this expedition is of our own city manufacture, except the revolvers.

The enterprising contractors have established a sort of depot at Council Grove, a distance of 150 miles from this city, and have sent out a blacksmith, a number of men to cut and cure hay, with a quantity of animals, grain and provisions; and we understand they intend to make a sort of traveling post there, and to open a farm. They contemplate, we believe, to make a similar settlement at Walnut Creek next season.

Two of their stages will start from here the first of every month. The contractors are amongst our most responsible and wealthy citizens, and the firm is composed, as we understand, of Dr. David Waldo, Jacob Hall, Esq., and William McCoy, late Mayor of our city.

\*NOTE: From this point the article is quoted from the Independence, *Missouri Commonwealth*.

#### BATTLE OF ATHENS, MISSOURI

From the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, August 25, 1928.

History barely mentions the battle in the northeastern Missouri village of Athens on the morning of August 5, sixty-seven years ago, but it is a battle worthy of notice nevertheless. Residents who remember it assert that it deserves historical mention, in the first place because it was the engagement of the Civil War that took place the farthest north in the entire United States, and in the second place because it had far-reaching effects.

When the war came that spring of 1861, Missouri, and especially northern Missouri, contained many people whose sympathies were divided. In about equal numbers were those who stood by the Union and those who championed the cause of the South.

Upon the shoulders of David Moore, a merchant in the village of Union, about five miles north of the present site of Kahoka, county seat of Clark county, fell the task of crystalizing Union sentiment and organizing Union forces in that section. Moore had seen military service during the



Mexican war. To him came the authority from Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, then commander of the Department of Missouri, to issue a call for enlistment in the Federal forces.

Flocking in response to Moore's call came about 1,000 men from Scotland, Clark, Knox, Schuyler and Putnam counties. The equipping and organizing of this force went on very informally as regards strict military procedure. The men brought with them their own horses and such weapons as they had, but they depended upon their friends to provide food and blankets. Most of the men who responded to the call were farmers, and from time to time Col. Moore furloughed large groups of them to return to their homes to tend their crops.

During the organizing of this force those in sympathy with the South had not been idle. In Lewis county Martin E. Green took the responsibility of issuing a call for Southern sympathizers and soon had a force exceeding that of Col. Moore. This force also was organized and equipped along informal lines.

Early in July, 1861, Col. Moore took his force into camp in the village of Athens, located upon the Des Moines river, about twenty-five miles from Keokuk, Iowa. It was at that time an important steamboat landing for considerable territory inland, and had other strategic features for just across the river in Iowa was the village of Croton on the Des Moines Valley Railroad. This road running directly into Keokuk furnished a good means of transportation for food and supplies from the Government stores there.

Moore's force settled down here for a period of organization and intensive training, and July 21 went on a foray against the Confederate forces camped in the neighborhood of Etna, several miles southwest of Kahoka. In the engagement that followed one Confederate was killed, several captured and the rest routed.

In retaliation the Confederates appeared before Moore's forces at Athens, August 5 just at daybreak. Historians do not agree as to how many men were engaged here but the best sources seem to credit Moore with less than 500 and Green with about 800.

Green deployed his troops in a manner to press the Union forces on three sides. With the Des Moines river at the rear of the town, he planned to drive the Union men into or across the river. He had with him two cannon of the smooth-bore type, one carrying a nine-pound ball and the other a six-pound. These two pieces were placed at the brow of the hill covering the main street of the village and fire was opened with them. In addition to the ordinary round shot used in the guns some deadly canister had been improvised out of nails and slugs and these were fired at intervals.

The fire from this artillery opened the battle but the shells seem to have done but little damage. Most of the balls went clear over the river into the Iowa village of Croton. Two of them went through the roof of the railroad station there and several of them landed in the Croton cemetery on a high hill half a mile from the river. One ball passed through the house occupied by Joseph Benning on the bank of the river in Athens and

then dropped harmlessly into the river. The ball went through both walls of the kitchen in which was Mrs. Benning preparing breakfast. The house still stands and the two holes made by the ball may be seen.

The battle did not last long. The fire of the Confederates was briskly returned by the Federals. Hemmed in as he was on three sides by a superior force, and with the river at his back, Col. Moore in desperation ordered a bayonet charge.

The Confederates, taken unawares by this sort of resistance, fell back in confusion. It is said, too, that just at this crisis two companies of Iowa Home Guards from Keokuk arrived at Croton, across the river, and made a demonstration which added to the confusion of the Confederates. At any rate the Confederates fell back and the victory went to the Federals.

The casualties were not great; five Confederates and two Union men killed and perhaps thirty or forty wounded in all. As spoils of war the Union men gathered in some 400 horses and many supplies.

Though this, the first battle of these combatants, was considerable of a farce, there were many on both sides who later took part in major engagements of the war. Many of the Confederates engaged here were later with Price, Cockrell, Johnston and Porter. Col. Moore's command evolved into the Twenty-first Missouri Volunteer Infantry and only a few months later at Shiloh the name of that organization was made famous.

Humorous incidents of the battle added to the farcical nature of the strife. It has been claimed that Col. Moore had three sons fighting for the South who were against their father in this engagement. During the heat of the strife it is said that one of these boys said to the other two, "Fellows, I believe Dad means business. I'm getting out of here."

The battle did have some far-reaching effects, it is said. The real objective of the Confederate forces was Keokuk, with its stores of Government supplies. The thrust at Athens was preliminary to crossing the Des Moines river and commandeering a train at Croton to take them directly to Keokuk.

Had they succeeded it would have greatly complicated the situation in that region and changed the later conduct of the war there by throwing southeastern Iowa and northeastern Missouri into their hands and necessitating a large Union force to regain it.

Athens, once a flourishing river port, now is practically extinct. There are only a few peaceful farms. About the only reminder of the conflict that took place there is the old house with the cannon ball holes through it, standing much as it must have stood that morning of August 5, 1861.

#### OZARKS FACT CONTEST

From the *Springfield News and Leader*, August 5, 1928.

The *Springfield News and Leader* conducted an Ozarks Fact Contest recently, and on August 5 printed descriptive letters which won prizes. They are as follows:

R. G. Scott of Neongwah, Mo., won the first prize of \$5.00 with the following description of Ha Ha Tonka:

"Bayard Taylor, the renowned world traveler, said, 'I have traveled round the world to find here in the heart of Missouri the most magnificent scenery the human eye ever beheld.' It's here.

"In traveling the Ozarks over I have found nothing to compare with Ha Ha Tonka in variety and beauty of natural attractions.

"Tis here that beauty from her throne  
O'erlooks enchanting grounds.  
The beetling cliff—the magic spring,  
The darksome caves—the island green;  
The purling brook, the woodland dell;  
The placid lake with silver sheen,  
All blend in one harmonious whole."

Mrs. Frank Beard, 839 South Avenue, believes Rainbow Springs or "Double Springs" the choice beauty spot of the Ozarks and she won the second prize of \$3.00 with her description:

"Hidden away in the hills of Ozark county, its original wild loveliness still unmarred, lies Rainbow springs, to me the most interesting and attractive spot in the Ozarks. At the foot of an overhanging cliff, a spring gushes forth, a huge stream of more than 100,000,000 gallons a day of clear, cold water. This stream divides its flow, forming a wooded island of 17 acres. There is also an undulating spring, a miniature geyser, where the water slowly rises to a height of about three feet, then falls back again. Other springs of unusual character and many unexplored caves are all about. The place has been the site of a gigantic Indian encampment, as indicated by the thousands of arrow heads of all sizes one may easily pick up."

Wylie Hutchinson, Thayer, Mo., contends that Grand gulf, nine miles from his town, is the greatest natural wonder of our region and his description won the third prize of \$2.00 in the contest.

"The Grand gulf is located about nine miles from Thayer and six miles from Koshkonong, Mo., and is truly a natural wonder, being a monstrous cavity in the earth about a quarter of a mile in length and about half that deep and only a few feet wide with a beautiful spring of cold, clear water pouring from a cave in one end of the Gulf, and disappearing in a hole in the bottom. In the other end is another cave that is supposed to run back several miles and in it is an underground river. There is also a natural bridge that runs across the Gulf and is large enough that it is used as a wagon road. This work of nature is something out of the ordinary and is certainly worth seeing."

The judges, in choosing from some 200 entries, faced a difficult task and the winners were chosen only after long study and discussion. . . . . An interesting thing about the Ebb and Flow spring, on Jacks Fork of

Current river, twenty-five miles northeast of Willow Springs and about 125 miles from Springfield, is that there are only sixteen ebb and flow springs in the world. Six of these are in the Ozarks and the one known as the Ebb and Flow spring is the greatest of the six.....

• WAS ATCHISON REALLY PRESIDENT?

From the *Kansas City Star*, July 15, 1928.

Missouri is erecting a \$15,000 bronze statue at Plattsburg, of Senator David R. Atchison, on the theory that he was the only Missourian who ever served as acting President of the United States. But did he? There is a wide divergence of opinion whether Atchison as president pro tem. of the United States senate actually became President March 4, 1849, between the administrations of Presidents Polk and Taylor.

"Atchison never was President for a minute," William M. Glenn of Tribune, Kas., writes *The Star*. "Polk's time did not expire until Sunday noon, March 4, so he could not have retired from office Saturday night without resigning, which he did not do. Taylor had been elected to succeed him and the law provided that his term should begin Sunday, March 4, in that year. Taylor was the President *de facto* Sunday, even if he were not sworn in. And, anyway, Atchison was never sworn in as President and never pretended to exercise any duty or prerogative of the office."

The official Missouri manual this year has this to say:

"The inauguration day of Zachary Taylor as President fell on Sunday, March 4, 1849, and President Polk's term of office having expired March 3, Senator David R. Atchison, by virtue of his office, was technically President of the United States until after the formal inauguration of President Taylor March 5."

"This is a question for a constitutional lawyer, or the attorney general of the United States, or the Supreme Court of the United States to solve," writes one of the best informed Missouri historians, who was appealed to for information. "It would be interesting to know, and it may be pertinent to know, whether the elected officer of the senate, the president pro tempore and the speaker of the house retain their office after the congress which elected them has adjourned. It would also be interesting to know whether the succession law contains the implied requirement of taking the presidential oath before the officer in line of succession could fill the vacancy of President."

The Missouri historian would like to know, if the President's term expires at midnight March 3, whether he still is President until the President-elect takes the oath of office the following day. President Cleveland held an important cabinet meeting in the morning of March 4, 1897, while President-elect McKinley waited at the White House to take the oath.

Another question is whether George M. Dallas, the vice-president in the Polk administration, resigned. The Missouri historian refers to *A Biographical Congressional Directory, 1774-1911*, an official senate document,

and the *Congressional Globe* for information. The *Globe* says this of Dallas: "The close of my official term being near at hand, I conform to an established and convenient practice by withdrawing from the deliberations of this body" (the senate), and thus creating the occasion for the choice of a temporary president.

"On motion of Mr. Benton, Mr. Atchison then was appointed president of the senate pro tem."

March 3, 1849, the senate adopted a resolution of thanks to Atchison, the president pro tem., and at 7 o'clock Sunday morning adjourned sine die.

The *Congressional Directory* has this comment to make concerning Atchison and his election as president pro tem. of the senate:

"This office made him President of the United States during Sunday, March 4, 1849, as General Taylor was not sworn into office until the following day."

Mosher, the historian, contends Dallas did not resign as vice-president and thereby open the way to Atchison to become acting President, as his resignation was not in writing. The historian believes the term of President begins March 4, although the oath of office may be administered several hours later.

March 4, 1821, fell on Sunday, and John Marshall, the celebrated chief justice of the United States Supreme Court, wrote as follows:

"The term of the actual president will expire and that of the President-elect commence at 12 in the night of the 3rd of March. It has been usual to take the oath at midday on the 4th. Thus there has been uniformly and voluntarily an interval of twelve hours when the executive power could not be exercised. This interval may be unavoidably prolonged. Circumstances may prevent the declaration of the person who is chosen until it shall be too late to communicate the intelligence of his election until after the 4th of March. This occurred at the first election."

#### LETTER FROM MARK DENT WRITTEN IN 1831

From the *Salem Post*, February 22, 1928.

The following letter, written nearly a hundred years ago, by the father of the first representative from this county, to that same son, brings to mind many of the changes since that time. Even Dent county has changed.

Through courtesy of T. P. Dent, in whose possession the original of this letter is, we learned the full facts of the circumstances of how Mark Dent first came to Missouri, and ultimately this section came to be named Dent county. Mark Dent was the grandfather of T. P. Dent and is the grandsire of all the Dents in this county. Lewis Dent, first representative from this county, was an uncle of T. P. Dent, and the grandfather of the other Dent families at present residing in this county.

According to Mr. T. P. Dent, his grandfather, Mark Dent, as a young man, first penetrated the frontiers of the then United States, and came to

Missouri, then Louisiana Territory, a possession of France, in the year 1803, and settled a piece of land one and one-half miles south of what is now Bismarck in St. Francois county. But the Indians went on the war-path, and he returned to his home in Virginia, where he married and lived until 1811, when he came to Missouri the second time. Our informant tells us that Lewis Dent and two other children were born in Virginia. Lewis Dent was the oldest. When Mark Dent with his family headed for this state a second time, he brought his wife and two of the children with him, leaving Lewis behind with relatives. Lewis subsequently came to Missouri, but returned to Virginia, where he lived at the time of this letter.

The farm settled by Mark Dent in 1803 is still in the Dent family and Tom Dent's sister is living on it at present.

The letter is as follows:

"St. Francis, Mo.,  
Dec. 24, 1831.

To:

Lewis Dent,  
Rocky Mount, Franklin county, Virginia.

Dear son:

Received your letter the first of this month, and was glad to be informed that you were well and safe at your journey's end. I have nothing strange to relate to you. We have all been well since you left this place and are still in good health, and all your friends and neighbors are well in this part as far as I know. Our corn crop is much injured by the frost, but we will still have plenty. It is now selling at about three bits per bushel, pork is from three and a half to four dollars per hundred, mineral is \$25.00 per thousand. We have had a very wet, cool, foul season till about the first of this month. It commenced very cold and the ground has been covered with snow and has been for three weeks, the water all frozen up, and the mills all stopped. Jones has started his mill on Big River, and can grind one hundred and fifty bushels per day. Cal Ashley has been elected to Congress to fill the vacancy of Peters. I have swapped my Dean filly for Ci Horten's pony and I have got my horses from Wm. McGlothen. Do not sell **your** horse under his value if you think he is good to bring you back again. I wish you as quick as this comes to hand to write to me and inform me how all your friends are, and when you think you will return, and how you are making your arrangements. I wish you to call as you return on Uncle John Dent, and tell the old man if he intends moving, if it would be agreeable to his notion, I would be very glad to see him and his family in this country. Tell him he need not be afraid of this country. I am convinced that it is a better country for every convenience than any he ever lived in. Give him and his family my compliments, give me compliments to all inquiring friends. Give me a sketch of Virginia's politics. Tell them to support the grizzly bear of the west (Thomas H. Benton) no longer. We would wish to look to them for patronage. Remember me to all your uncles and aunts. I hope to see

you return by the first of May next, if it is the will of Providence. No more at present, only your affectionate Father until death.

Mark Dent.

Take notice there is a proclamation in the paper for one thousand or fifteen hundred men to assemble at the town of St. Louis, in the months of February and March, twenty monarchs (Editor's note: This must be intended for *mechanics*.) of all descriptions, and five doctors, to start the first of April, to settle the mouth of the Columbia River. They are to be fitted out by Congress, and have donations for land."

#### THE BILL ANDERSON CONTROVERSY

From the *Kansas City Star*, September 9, 1928.

"I suppose it was because I was older and able to observe more, but my education advanced more rapidly at Gallatin. There were more notable men there than at any other place I had lived; among them a war hero who had killed Bill Anderson, a guerrilla leader, in a fair fight, and defeated his band."

In this paragraph in his auto-biographical story, "Plain People," now appearing in the *Saturday Evening Post*, E. W. Howe unintentionally stirred up the old controversy regarding the end of the famous guerrilla chieftain.

Was he killed at the height of his bloody career by Mr. Howe's "hero" or did he escape to Texas and there attain to a ripe old age, finally passing out as a respected, law-abiding veteran of the stormy days of the Civil war?

It is a point of history which may never be settled definitely, but most writers of the period and those living in Ray county, Missouri, at the time have united in the assertion that the leader of the "bushwhackers" was killed near Orrick, that county, by Federal "home guard" soldiers under the command of S. P. Cox, doubtless the man to whom Mr. Howe refers. The account of his death went practically unquestioned until about four years ago, when it developed that an "Uncle" Bill Anderson, then 84 years old, was living near Brownwood, Tex., claiming to have been one of Quantrill's lieutenants at Lawrence and Centralia, familiar with all the activities of the guerrillas; in short, claiming to be "the" Bill Anderson, although it was said he did not talk much "unless drawn out by particular friends."

Now Dr. L. E. Skinner, optometrist of Tyler, Tex., picks up Mr. Howe's paragraph and writes:

"Mr. Howe is in error in this statement. Many Texans know that Bill Anderson was not killed; that he escaped, came to Texas and settled in Brown county, where he spent the remainder of his life. I was personally acquainted with him. He was a man that did not confide in everybody. He never did tell me the story of his life, but did others. He died a few years ago on his ranch near Brownwood, Tex., and was buried near the spot where he first located after coming to the Lone Star state. 'Uncle



Bill,' as all called him, was a good citizen and helped to drive the Indians from Central West Texas.

"Uncle Bill knew the Younger boys, Frank and Jesse James, was well acquainted with Quantrill. No doubt he was with all of them on some of their expeditions. This, however, I do not know. I know that Anderson was not killed in this fight. Several years ago Cole Younger came to Brownwood with a carnival show. Bill Anderson awaited his coming with great pleasure. When Anderson met Younger the latter did not know him, as he thought he was dead as reported. Anderson established his identity beyond question with Younger. It was a great meeting and they spent much time together while Younger filled his engagement.

"Anderson was scheduled to be killed in this ambush, but escaped by exchanging horses with another man. The man riding Anderson's horse was killed, and naturally this hero thought he had killed the real Anderson. It seems that they did not know Anderson and only identified him by his saddle bags."

The existence of the Bill Anderson of Texas first became known to Missourians in 1924 when a short article about him appeared in the *Houston Post* and was copied in Missouri papers. At once Col. James S. Hackley, an early settler of Moberly, Mo., presented his knowledge of the facts preceding the slaying, his story indicating that the guerrilla's body was identified by his (Hackley's) mother, a cousin of the slain Confederate irregular.

"We lived on a farm which cornered on a state road leading one way to Knoxville and the other to Millville," he said. "One day about six months before Anderson was killed my father and I were plowing corn. As I came near the end of the row I heard pistol shots.

"In my excitement I climbed on the fence to find out what was going on. I saw Bill Anderson, Frank and Jesse James, Arch Clemens and Hedge Reynolds on horseback. In pursuit was Captain Tiffen, leading probably 100 men. A moment later Anderson turned his horse and plunged across the road into what we called our sugar tree woods.

"Captain Tiffen ordered my father to take his horses from the plow, hitch them to a wagon, and take one of his wounded men to Richmond. When we returned home that night the house was brilliant with lights. We found five strange horses that had been fed. In the house were their owners—Bill Anderson and the men we had seen with him that morning.

"Seven chickens were killed; supper was served at midnight. About 3 o'clock in the morning the men got their horses and rode away. That was the last time I saw Bill Anderson alive.

"About six months later we drove to Richmond. My mother's brother, Tom Bayless, kept a hardware store there. As Mr. Bayless came out to greet my mother, a boy ran up and said that Bill Anderson had been killed and his body was at Tice's Gallery.

"We went to Tice's Gallery. When my mother saw the blood on Anderson's face, and his clotted hair, she pleaded that the picture not



be taken until she had washed his face and combed his hair. Her plea was refused by Captain Cox, who was present and claimed to have killed Anderson.

"Anderson was buried in Richmond. The bullet that ended his life struck him in the back of his head and came out through his forehead.

"We stayed that night with Uncle Tom. About midnight there was a rap on the door. On opening the door we found Jim Anderson, Bills' brother, who remained there until 11 o'clock the next morning. That was the last time I saw him."

Colonel Hackley related that in later years he discussed the killing of Anderson with Frank James. James said the guerrillas were eating a lunch with their horses picketed nearby when, without warning, they were surrounded by Cox and his men. The little band jumped on their mounts and attempted to dash through the ring of soldiers and Anderson was brought down by a bullet through his head when it appeared he would make good his escape. According to James, Anderson shot six men in his attempt at liberty.

Shortly after Colonel Hackley's statement appeared in *The Star*, a communication was received from Mrs. Sarah T. Mann of Bartlesville, Okla., who stated that the account was "in the main correct." She said she had lived in Richmond from childhood and had been well acquainted with Tom Bayliss, but explained that "Anderson's body and his horse were brought to Richmond that evening and the following day taken to the office of Dr. R. B. Kice to be photographed. The cut in *The Star* was made from that photograph and was a good copy. He was buried the next day in what was then the city cemetery on North Thornton street, and, so far as the writer knows, has never been removed."

She added that "Anderson's sister was the widow of the warden of the state prison at Austin, Tex., and his niece the wife of the representative from Murray county, Oklahoma, and lived at Sulphur, the county seat."

In August, 1924, Jewell Mayes, secretary of the Missouri state board of agriculture and member of a pioneer Ray county family, received a letter from Henry C. Fuller of Brownwood, Tex., with a photograph of the Texas Bill Anderson. Mr. Fuller asked that the picture be shown to some of the surviving members of the Quantrill band and an effort made to clear up the mystery. "One thing is certain," he wrote, "he (the Texas Bill Anderson) knew Quantrill and all his lieutenants. His talk shows that."

So far as can be learned no member of the Quantrill or Anderson bands of the border warfare days ever has passed upon the resemblance of the likeness of the Texas Bill Anderson to the Missouri guerrilla the portrait from which the accompanying cut was made.

## PLATTE COUNTY'S EARLY HISTORY

Excerpts from an article written by ex-Senator Francis M. Wilson, in the *Kansas City Star*, December 19, 1926.

.....Insofar as Platte county is concerned, only the principal families of Indians, the Sioux or Dakotas, and the Algonquins or Ojibwas, owned and occupied it from time to time and eventually drove from its boundaries whatever other races were in possession. But an attempt to outline briefly the history of various Indian tribes who warred for mastery upon its soil would be almost endless. Suffice it to say the warlike Sacs and Foxes and the fearless Osages, who almost exterminated the Missouri—a powerful tribe who owned and occupied the Missouri river country for miles on either side—the Pottawatomies, the Iowas and the Kickapoos, are the tribes with which the earliest seekers for homes in Platte came in contact.

In 1809 the Osages and the Sacs and Foxes fought a battle on the Little Platte, near the mouth of Second Creek, resulting in the ousting of the Osages. The government, recognizing claims of the Iowas, Sacs and Foxes, entered into a treaty with these tribes September 17, 1836, whereby for \$7,500 in money and other considerations, these Indians conveyed to the United States that rich body of land known as the Platte Purchase, comprising the counties of Platte, Buchanan, Atchison, Nodaway, Andrew and Holt, now the fourth congressional district. But long prior to this treaty and purchase, white men, attracted by Indian stories of the glories of the Platte Valley, entered in violation of federal law, which protected Indian lands from invasion.

In 1819 the government projected an exploring expedition for the Upper Missouri by boat. Several of the company disembarked at Rialto, then a small trading post for transient whites and Indians. Thus Rialto was the first unauthorized white settlement in Platte. Others, using boats for the exploration of the Missouri, disseminated in ever widening circles accounts of the richness of the soil, the grandeur of the forests, the beauty of the flower bedecked prairies, and the abundance of large game and fish. This resulted in many whites settling in the Platte country prior to the removal of the Indians under the treaty in 1836. A comparative few, holding special permits, were allowed to remain.

In 1822 Clay county was organized. For many years prior to the extinguishment of Indian titles, this county supplied Ft. Leavenworth (established in 1827) with much beef, bacon and vegetables, but there was no wagon road so these essentials were transported by boat. In the summer of 1828 a road was opened through Platte from the fort to Barry, near the Platte and Clay line, and connecting with the road to Liberty. Prices at Ft. Leavenworth then quoted: Net pork, 75 cents a hundred; eggs, 10 cents a dozen; butter, 10 to 15 cents a pound; horses, \$10 to \$20; pair or yoke of oxen, broken to work, \$20 to \$30.....

The pioneers of Platte were virtually all from Kentucky, Virginia and Tennessee, with a scattered few from South Carolina and other

southern states. They came principally by steamboat, embarking generally at Weston, a busy little city and the commanding metropolis of Western Missouri and west to the Rocky Mountains. Some came on horseback with pack horse, and in ox wagons, enduring untold hardships and dangers in their journey through the wilds, but all in high spirits, pressing forward like Argonauts seeking the Golden Fleece to be found in the "Promised Land" of Platte.....

Another contributory factor to the rapid settlement of the county was its situation on the western borders of the state and on the Missouri river. It had the advantages for trade with the Indians throughout almost illimitable territory, and with New Mexico and Salt Lake, and as a base of supplies for the troops and the Indian agencies of the West.

Within the brief time of two years after the reserve was declared upon, it is estimated about 4,500 immigrants settled within its present limits. This surprising number came notwithstanding no survey had been made nor other means provided, until 1838, of securing them in the possession of, or right to their homes.....

June 1, 1839, Platte county came into its own. It was formally established. Log cabins, schoolhouses and churches gave way to more comfortable and substantial buildings. Thrift was everywhere visible. Within seven years afterward reports of school directors disclosed that so eager had been the search for knowledge that twenty-seven school districts had been organized, with schools from three to ten months. No county, according to population, had progressed more rapidly. From then to the present it has been a great educational center. Prior to 1860, in addition to public and private schools, there were seven schools and colleges given over entirely to advanced learning. The rigors of the Civil War destroyed the usefulness of many of these institutions. But surviving and ever shedding luster on the advanced educational facilities of the county is the Missouri Christian College at Camden Point, established in 1849, and the Camden Point Female Academy.

One of the foremost educational institutions was the Platte City Male Academy, established by Professor F. G. Gaylord in 1855. Its name was later changed to Daughters' College. Its graduates into the fields of usefulness were many. Professor Gaylord retired in 1888, and the school now no longer exists. Park College was inaugurated in 1875. This noble institution of high learning now numbers graduates and students from all over the world.....

Platte City suffered fearfully during the Civil War and in its aftermath. During the night of December 16, 1861, federal troops burned the courthouse, the Methodist and Presbyterian churches and many business houses and dwellings. Later a motley crew, under the notorious Jennison, almost destroyed the entire town by fire. But more substantial brick and frame buildings were erected and the little city rapidly progressed.....

The grounds of the Platte County Fair are near Platte City. It is said this fair is the oldest in point of continuous operation in the United

States. It was organized in 1858 and the first fair held in the fall of that year.....

#### HISTORY OF THE OLD MINES IN MERAMEC STATE PARK

By Wm. R. Draper, in *Know St. Louis*, September 2, 1928.

The new Meramec State Park out in Franklin county to be formally opened and dedicated on September 8, is a country old in mining history. The pages of history for 250 years tell about the Spaniards, French, Yankees and followers of Daniel Boone burrowing in the hills for copper, lead and iron. It was first reported the Meramec river district of Franklin and Washington counties was a gold field, later silver was said to have been discovered there; but these proved to be only the dreams of early explorers.

An untimely death took from Ferdinand DeSoto, a grandee of old Spain, full credit for having been the first Ozark miner. Both Bancroft and Schoolcraft, eminent historians, credit DeSoto with having reached Arcadia Valley in 1541, at the time he discovered the Mississippi river. DeSoto had 600 men and many horses when he left Cuba, where he was governor. He crossed through Florida and in May, 1541, reached the great river.

Four months later he is said to have reached the Ozarks.

DeSoto was seeking a rich province known as the land of the Cayas, from descriptions presumed to have been in the hills along the winding Meramec. The Cayas were supposed to have been living in a land where there was much gold and silver. DeSoto having helped conquer Peru, had much experience in finding silver, so he was in quest of a more precious metal to enrich his kingdom.

But when DeSoto died and his body was lowered into the middle of the Mississippi river near the mouth of White river in what is now Arkansas, in May, 1542, his party disbanded and returned to Spain. Despite the fact the Spanish are born miners, little was done to reach out for the immense gold and silver deposits the DeSoto party reported they believed existed.

When France took over this portion of America, the adventures of DeSoto fired their imagination and stirred them into a great and practical impulse to seek out this new wealth. The Frenchman LeSieur came up as far as the Meramec in 1700, and five years later the governor of Louisiana sent an expedition into the same field.

France, as a nation, did not send explorers to the Ozarks, but Louis XV in 1717, sold the mining rights to John Law for a cash consideration. Law had a vivid imagination and great ability as a promoter and Dr. Litton, a Missouri geologist in 1855 put him down as a "knave of the first rank." Law did business with all classes in France and raised millions of francs to equip several expeditions to the Ozark country.

Law placed Phillipe Francis Renault and Ferd. LaMotte in command of the first party. Both were good miners and brave and honest men. They thought they were coming to a gold and silver district and were much

disappointed when they found only lead and iron. This expedition left France in 1719 with 200 artificers of metal and as many practical miners. At St. Domingo they stopped and took aboard 500 slaves. Arriving in the Ozarks Renault opened mines at Potosi, and LaMotte found the now existing mines at Mine LaMotte. Others of the party spread out and came up the Meramec, some of them opening lead, copper and iron veins in what is now Franklin county and on the site of the present state park.

Several companies were formed to explore the Ozarks, all operating under the concession of Louis XV and sold to John Law. First the Company of the West, managed by Renault and LaMotte; then the Royal Company of Indies joined with the first concern. Still another expedition headed by Sieur de Lochon under the name of the West Indies Company began developments along the Meramec. DeLochon was reported by Bancroft to have uncovered some silver.

Reports show that in 1721 Renault had uncovered a vein of lead two feet thick and was sending it to France by the boat load. In 1731 John Law joined all the concerns under one head and turned financial Paris topsy-turvy by his promise of immense dividends. But in 1742 came the grand bust and these concessions were all returned to the French crown.

France ceded Louisiana to Spain in 1762 and a year later under Francis Breton the lead development began anew and with renewed vigor. The Spaniards began parcelling out huge grants. In 1796 Thomas Hill lead mine in the present state park was opened on what is now known as the Spanish grant. In 1798 Moses Austin came out from Connecticut, was granted 6,000 acres of land near Potosi, built a big furnace and shot tower and made cannon balls, sheet lead and bullets for the Spanish government.

Another old report credits Daniel Boone with having opened a mine on the Meramec near the present state park about 1800. It was first thought to be silver. The location of this mine cannot be determined but it is given a place in history.

#### AN EARLY MACON COUNTY COURT

From the LaPlata *Home Press*, October 4, 1928.

The shade of a great elm tree on his grandfather's farm was one of the first steps in the evolution of courthouses in Macon county according to Dr. J. P. Foster, of LaCrosse, Mo., who has spent all of his life on the farm and from it practiced medicine over the countryside for forty years. And under that tree were also evolved the rudiments of early justice.

"The old courthouse down at Macon is dilapidated, and a new one is being discussed, but the first courthouse for many an early-day resident was the old elm tree by the overhead bridge on my farm," reminisced the doctor. "Squire William Easley was the first justice of the peace in Richland township, and from the time of his appointment in 1847, he began to dish out a sort of law all of his own making. It was a woman, however, that eventually defied the judge, pled a cause and forced a stricter adherence to the written law.

"In the spring of 1848, a bachelor, Sanford Knight, decided to go back to Illinois for a visit. His crops were in so he took the yoke off his oxen and turned them loose in the field, pushed the latch-string of his door inside, and left between sunset and sunrise. After his absence began to be noted and speculation of foul play was afloat, suspicion was fastened upon a neighbor with whom he'd had a falling out.

"The Vigilantes were still snooping about, the regular law just beginning to be effective in the country. A search was made for Knight, creeks were dragged, grappling hooks let down into wells, but nothing but his hat was ever found. Justice Easley issued a summons for the neighbor and he was placed under guard of the constable, while the vigilance committee guarded them both.

Doc's grandmother, Lucy Ann Ferguson, was mistress of her own household. Her husband had gone north in 1846, bought wheat and floated it down the Mississippi to New Orleans where he found the cholera raging. He contracted it and died on the boat trip home. She gave her slave, Jack, a half-holiday to attend the trial, held under the tree on her farm, with instructions to hear everything and return with a report. And his report brought the fiery Louisville, Kentuckian, to the defense. The report told of a speedy trial, a verdict of guilty and the judgment rendered.

"Prisoner, stand up before the bar of justice," pronounced the justice of the peace with all the assumed impressiveness of a supreme court. "You are sentenced to be hanged to the limb of that tree until you are dead, dead, dead—you, and may the Lord have mercy on your soul."

The judge sent the constable to Sutton's grocery, a little trading shop for the neighborhood, to get a rope and the inevitable jug. Meantime the negro, scared to a pastry tan, rushed to his mistress with the tale.

"Jack," snapped the redoubtable lady as she snatched her splint bonnet from its nail, "load your deer rifle and follow me," and she mounted her pacing nag and dashed away to the "courthouse," arriving just as the jug had passed around the ring and courage was roused for the hanging.

"Squire Billy Easley, are the words this nigger repeats true?" she blazed at the justice.

"I don't know, madam, but if you'll repeat the words I'll tell you," he pompously replied, and to her story gave corroboration.

"Most true, madam, most true."

"Well then, sir, you are an accessory before the fact, for you had no right to pronounce sentence on any man," retorted Lucy Ferguson, at whose home a young law student once resided and gave her the rudiments of legal information.

All through the afternoon she wrangled with the stubborn justice of the peace, until just before sundown the vigilantes became restive and prepared to administer the sentence. But they reckoned without the lady. Stationing her negro man with his rifle resting in the crotch of an apple tree and the barrel trained on the great elm tree where primitive justice was to be administered, she instructed him to wait until she counted

"three" and then fire. She carefully avoided that word "three" while following the men in their preparations and continuing her argument.

Suddenly the slave, Jack, let out a yell, dropped his rifle and wrung his trembling hands.

"Lawsy massy, Miss Lucy, de dead am come to life!"

He had been facing the road down which there came Sanford Knight, returning from his Illinois pilgrimage. The lady had won a victory through delay, but had made a life enemy. A feud existed between her and the squire that lasted down through the years when he became a pettifogging lawyer, and her son an attorney at the bar. The only thing for which she would ever consent to patronize him was to purchase "Easley's Liniment" which he had concocted.

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